







EXECUTION OF MARY STUART.

THE
LIFE OF MARY STUART,
QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BY M. DE MARLÈS,
CONTINUATOR OF DR. LINGARD.

From the French.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING FIFTEEN OF MARY'S LETTERS,
AND ADDITIONAL NOTES.

BY M. I. RYAN.



MARY STUART ESCAPES FROM LOCHLEVEN CASTLE.

Qui per virtutem peritat, non interit.
PLAUT., in *Captivis*.
Nam virtus mihi
In astra et ipsos fecit ad superos iter.
SEN., de *Herc. Celao*.

FOURTH THOUSAND.

BOSTON :

PATRICK DONAHOE, 23 FRANKLIN STREET.

1857.

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PREFATORY.

THE work of M. de Marlès has now been some time before the public, and the number of editions through which it has gone speaks forcibly in its favor.

The author's plain statement of facts, lucid explanations, unanswerable arguments, and logical conclusions will, it is believed, set at rest the vexed question of Mary's innocence or culpability. It proves satisfactorily that Mary's death was sought, as Bishop Milner has asserted, "merely because she was a Catholic, and heir apparent to the crown."

The size of the volume has precluded the citation of authorities in many instances, but the reader may place implicit confidence in the accuracy of the author's statements ; whenever prac-

licable the *ipsissima verba* of the English historian have been preserved.

Many notes, mostly extracted from works of merit, and elucidatory of points but slightly touched upon, have been added ; and in the Appendix will be found some of Mary's most interesting letters.

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INTRODUCTION.

JAMES V., King of Scotland, had freed himself from the odious guardianship of the Earl of Angus, whose devotedness Henry VIII. had purchased. This sufficed for the misunderstanding which arose between the two princes; and as courtiers are in the habit of espousing the quarrels of their masters, so as to lay claim to their favor, the frontier governors of the two kingdoms reciprocally commenced acts of hostility, which would have certainly led to war, had not the amicable intervention of Francis I. prevented it. When the uncle and nephew* were reconciled, at least in appearance, it was proposed to give as a spouse to the King of Scotland the princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and the unfortunate infanta of Spain, Catharine, whose unfaithful husband had sacrificed her to

* James was a nephew of Henry, a sister of the latter being his mother.

his unbridled lust. Henry at first had seemed to desire this union ; but that was before he had extorted a sentence of divorce from the iniquitous judges. The divorce granted, he had married Anne Boleyn ; and he then feared that the children of Mary, should she marry the king of Scotland, would one day dispute the crown with his own issue by the woman whom he had debauched by seating her on a defiled throne : he refused his consent.

Offended at this refusal, James resolved to solicit a consort from some one of the continental princes, expecting by this alliance to strengthen himself against the King of England. Henry divined the intention of his nephew, and wished to render it abortive by indirect means. He at first endeavored to gain him to his religious views ; if James would adopt these and abjure the faith of his fathers, he could no longer count on an alliance with Catholic princes ; and it was a capital stroke. He sent his agent Barlow to Scotland, as bearer of a dogmatic treatise on the spiritual supremacy of princes. James received the book and the envoy very coldly ; Barlow returned dissatisfied, and revenged himself by abusive language and calumnies on the manner of his reception.

Henry was not disheartened ; he demanded an interview of his nephew, and designated the city of York as the place of meeting. But James knew the Punic faith of his uncle, and took care not to endanger his personal safety : he replied that he much desired an interview, provided it took place in France, in the presence of Francis I., which proposition Henry on his part rejected. Negotiations were broken off, and James expressed himself for France. The hand of Mary of Bourbon, a French princess, was offered him ; but before concluding the match he wished to see her, and under pretence of joining Francis, who was driving the Imperialists from Provence, whither they had penetrated, he repaired to Dieppe, saw his intended, and, not finding her to his taste, rapidly pursued his route towards Lyons. He there met Francis, who brought him to Paris. In the midst of the fêtes and pleasures with which Francis surrounded him, James entirely forgot Mary of Bourbon.

He had seen Magdalen of France, daughter of the king, and conceived a violent passion for her. He married her ; but unhappily the health of Magdalen was feeble and delicate : scarcely had she arrived in Scotland ere she fell ill, and three months had not elapsed since her marriage, when

she beheld the tomb open to receive her. She descended into it with courage, and her resignation at so tender an age increased the regret caused by her loss. For several months James appeared inconsolable. But there is no grief that time does not assuage : the following year (1538) he espoused Mary, a princess of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke of Guise and the Duchess dowager of Longueville. James increased his glory by this alliance, as the virtuous Mary had refused to share with Henry VIII. the brilliant throne of England.

Henry had seen with grief this intimate alliance between Scotland and France. In his designs of conquest and proselytism, he flattered himself, if the King of Scotland had no allies, with being able to compel him without difficulty to acknowledge the doctrines which he had entailed upon his own kingdom, and perhaps even make of Scotland an English province. But sustained by France, James could resist successfully ; it was necessary, then, to deprive Scotland of this support, and afterwards profit by its isolated position to subjugate it. Henry decided at once, if the negotiations which were about to be resumed did not prosper, he would use force, and convert those with his sword whom

his controversial work had been unable to pervert.

Sadler was sent to James on the same secret mission that Barlow had been, and he demanded a special interview with the king, (1540,) which James granted. Sadler showed him a pretendedly intercepted letter from Cardinal Beaton* to his agent at Rome; he was using his influence, said Sadler, to subject the royal authority to the temporal power of the pope. The king was pleased to reply that this letter was well known to him, and that before its transmission, which had taken place with his express consent, the cardinal had given him a copy of it.

“My master,” replied Sadler, “blushes at your weakness. You are but the steward of your kingdom, instead of being its sovereign. You need money; why not seize the goods of the church? O, in the dissolute manners of your clergy you will find a thousand reasons which should justify you in your own eyes, if you need being justified.”

“Sadler,” responded the king, “the goods which Heaven has given me are sufficient. I have no need of usurping the property of others.

* This cardinal, Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Primate of Scotland, had succeeded his uncle in the charge of the archiepiscopal see.

If I were in real need, the clergy, I am certain, would come magnanimously to my assistance; and if, unfortunately, some members of the clergy profane their holy ministry, there are many others who merit all our eulogies, and it is not just to punish the innocent with the guilty."

Henry's envoy then turned to the question of policy. He desired to prove to the King of Scotland that the alliance of his uncle would be a thousand times more advantageous to him than that of France; for, after the death of Prince Edward, who was in ill health, he would become the heir presumptive to the English throne. Sadler concluded by urging the king to accept the interview at York. The king thanked him for the zeal he showed for his interest, but very ingeniously eluded the invitation to repair to York.

This invitation was once more renewed, and Henry was even induced to believe that his nephew would accept. It is added that in general the nobles appeared eager enough to enrich themselves at the expense of the clergy, and that this body, which did not wish to be despoiled of their property, opposed them energetically. Meanwhile the cardinal departed for Rome. When Henry heard of his departure he was at

first much disquieted, since he imagined that the cardinal had only travelled through France to engage Francis to enter into a league against him. But after having reflected on it, he rejoiced at his departure : he thought it would be easier to triumph over the obstinacy of James, who would be no longer sustained by the presence and influence of this prelate. Impressed with this idea he repaired to Yorkshire, there to await his nephew ; but James persisted in his refusal, for he feared with reason that if once his uncle got him within his clutches, he would not restore him to liberty until after he had constrained him to renounce his alliance with France and decline the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. Henry returned to London, much irritated at his nephew ; and he refused for a long time to receive the Scottish ambassador, specially charged to offer his master's excuses.

Henry was fully decided on having recourse to force to obtain from James what he could not draw from him by stratagem ; nevertheless, before commencing the war, he wished to sound the court of France. His agents informed him by letter that notwithstanding all the good will which Francis bore to the King of Scotland, the latter could scarcely expect any assistance from

him, on account of the embarrassment which the emperor* caused the King of France himself. Upon that Henry no longer hesitated. He ordered his governors of the frontier to commence hostilities, and soon after, to revenge himself for a check received in the beginning by his arms, he ordered the Duke of Norfolk to assemble an army in York, take the command of it, and immediately invade Scotland. James was not prepared for war; he commenced negotiations which detained the Duke of Norfolk in York, but in a few days the duke was formally ordered to advance into Scotland.

The duke obeyed, and had the deplorable advantage of delivering to the flames two defenceless cities and twenty villages. After this exploit, the want of provisions obliged him to retire. (1542.) James wished to pursue the English, but all his officers remonstrated with him, as—should the same misfortune happen to him as to his father at Flodden Field—his death would leave Scotland exposed to become the prey of his uncle, who would not fail to claim his inheritance as his nearest heir. James yielded only in part to the counsel of his officers: he disbanded the troops collected around

* Charles V.

him, but immediately proceeded to the western frontier, where he had a body of ten thousand men, whom he ordered to advance into England, and spend as many days there as Norfolk had passed in Scotland.

James had to repent of having yielded to momentary wrath. These ten thousand men perceived beyond the frontier some English troops, seemingly prepared to dispute the passage; and whether they refused to fight because they were commanded by an unpopular officer, or that they imagined they were to oppose Norfolk's whole army, they dispersed without having drawn a sword, and fled in every direction. Twenty-four pieces of artillery and all the baggage fell into the hands of the English, and one thousand prisoners, among whom were two earls, five barons, and two hundred knights, were sent to England to attest a victory which had not cost a single man.

This unexpected disaster grieved the heart of James. He departed ill for Edinburgh, whence he reached the solitary manor of Falkland. Hardly had he arrived, when he was seized with a fever, which, finding him already undermined by chagrin, made rapid progress. He expired

on the 14th of December, twenty days after the eventful disaster to his arms, and eight days after his wife had given birth to a daughter. This daughter, born under such sad auspices, was Mary Stuart, a woman as accomplished as she was unfortunate, upon whom Nature lavished all her gifts, upon whom Misfortune wore out all her darts.

LIFE OF MARY STUART.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH OF MARY. — TROUBLES DURING HER MINORITY. — SHE
IS CONVEYED TO FRANCE.

THE birth of Mary was not celebrated by public fêtes, and no joyful strain made the mountain echoes resound; she enters into the world, overwhelmed with her mother's tears, opening her eyes before a tomb which awaits its prey, receiving life and losing him who imparted it to her. Scotland's weeds overhang her cradle, funereal crape girds her forehead; whilst not far off, hostile rivalries, ambitious designs, are being agitated; at the foot of the tableau Discord brandishes her torches, and the flames of war light up the scene. Two parties, equally numerous and powerful, are formed about the infant royal: the one wishes to subject her country to England, the other to save it by relying

upon France. Henry VIII. had no sooner received the news of the twofold event which gave a sovereign to Scotland in place of the deceased king, than, immediately abandoning the part of converter, to be assumed thereafter, he conceived the project of adding Scotland to his kingdom, destining the new-born princess as a spouse for his son. If the Scottish Parliament would accept his proposition, he would assume without opposition the government of the kingdom, either as father-in-law or as grand-uncle of the queen. The Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, upon whom he had plentifully bestowed his bounty, the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, who were made prisoners in the unfortunate affair of Solway Moss, were taken by Henry into his confidence, and all engaged to serve him in his designs: the two former acted through gratitude, the others through the hope of being soon restored to liberty. Nevertheless, Henry did not allow them to depart until he had received hostages from them as guarantees of their return in case they did not succeed.

In vain had King James, before dying, expressed in a will his last wishes; in vain had he recommended his daughter and his spouse to

the lords who surrounded him. Hardly had he closed his eyes than his entreaties, his recommendations, the promises he had obtained, were all forgotten. To see these courtiers, humble and cringing before their master, become haughty and fierce when this master was no more, one would say that, enemies of all superiority, they wished, by disobedience, to indemnify themselves for the restraint to which they had been subjected; to wash themselves, by breaking the idol, of the humiliation of having worshipped it. When, after the king's death, Cardinal Beaton — called by the French *Béthune* — made known the will, which conferred the regency upon himself, three Scottish lords being given him for colleagues, no account was taken of this document, which some suspected of being forged and substituted, whilst it was rejected by others because it disposed of the regency in favor of persons who were not their choice. Several lords, having met at Edinburgh, appointed regent James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was, moreover, regarded as heir presumptive to the throne, in case of the death of the new born. Cardinal Beaton agreed to an arrangement which he could not prevent. It was after this transaction that the two exiles, Angus and Douglas, and the

prisoners of Solway Moss,* arrived at Edinburgh.

The English party was strengthened by all those men whose services could be purchased. Nevertheless, there were many amongst them who interested themselves but little for the King of England: they only desired to withdraw safe and sound from his hands those whom they had left as hostages. The French party had at its head the queen mother, the cardinal, the Earls of Huntley, Murray, and Argyle. This party could count more on the coöperation of the members of the clergy, whom the fear of religious innovation would have alone determined even if their chief motive had not been patriotism. The nation in general appeared to favor the party of the queen; for it hated English domination as much as it was attached to France, its ancient and loyal ally.

The regent was in great embarrassment. The opposition which he had received from Cardinal Beaton would have impelled him from spite to join the English party, had he not otherwise mistrusted Henry's projects. He was well aware that whichever party prevailed, his own rights to the succession of James would be equally endangered. Henry, to terminate his hesitation,

offered him the hand of the Princess Elizabeth for his young son ; but the regent understood that this offer was only made him to prevent his son espousing the young queen herself. This reflection did not prevent him from pronouncing himself in favor of Henry ; he even imprisoned the cardinal, under the pretext that the latter had engaged the Duke of Guise to raise an army and send it to Scotland to sustain the interests of the queen mother against him. (1543.)

Meanwhile Parliament had been convoked, and had acted upon Henry's propositions. It accepted that which proposed the marriage of Prince Edward and the queen, but rejected all the others, which treated of confiding the queen to his care, as well as the administration of the government and the occupation of all fortified places, during her minority. It was believed that Scottish pride would revolt against such exorbitant pretensions. Henry, however, persisted ; and when the envoys of the regent informed him of what had passed, he did not dissemble his resentment. He even reproached the Earl of Angus and his adherents, through Sir Ralph Sadler, complaining bitterly of having been badly served by them, and accusing them of betraying their promises.

Angus responded that his friends and himself had obtained all it was possible to obtain under the present circumstances. He urgently exhorted him to content himself provisorily with what he had obtained ; all the rest, added the earl, will be obtained in time, but we can only proceed slowly. If, nevertheless, he had not patience to wait, he could invade Scotland with an army strong enough to inspire terror ; and in this case the loyal Scot would engage to assist the dangerous enemy of his country with all his forces. Henry, who to all his faults joined much obstinacy, resisted for three months the advice of the Earl of Angus. Being finally convinced that the longer he delayed his decision, the more time he allowed the French party to gain strength, he signed a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms ; it was moreover determined that Mary should espouse Prince Edward, and that so soon as she attained her tenth year she should be conveyed to England.

Thus, in disposing of the noble daughter of the kings of Scotland, they wait not for her to form a vow, a desire ; they stipulate for her, and reckon as nought neither her heart, her future affections, nor her repugnances. Such is the condition of kings : in exchange for the supreme

power which society confides to them, it is desired that they devote themselves more to society than to their families, than to themselves. But Heaven sports with the projects of men: those of the King of England were not to be accomplished. Undoubtedly, if Mary had become the wife of Edward, her head would have been adorned with a double diadem; perhaps she would even have given to England an heir to the throne. But assuredly the infant Mary, educated in the midst of a corrupt court, composed entirely of men who had sold their consciences for lucre; delivered to a fanatical husband, who impelled proselytism and converting zeal still farther than his father; surrounded by seductions in an age when reason could not make itself heard,— Mary would have yielded: she would have abjured the faith of her fathers. Hurried at his instigation from abyss to abyss, she would have embraced the reformed religion, the perishable work of her grand-uncle. It was not thus: God wished the soul of Mary for himself, and in order that she might be worthy of him, he desired to preserve her incontaminate. A few momentary weaknesses, expiated by a long martyrdom, have not hindered her from receiving in the bosom of her Creator the reward of her royal virtues.

Meanwhile Cardinal Beaton had obtained his liberty from the regent upon certain conditions, and on the other hand Francis had transported assistance in money and ammunition, which augmented the hope cherished by the queen's party. An unforeseen circumstance happened to complicate the various interests which then agitated Scotland. The Earl of Lennox, claiming to be the sole heir in case of Mary's decease, demanded the regency, which, according to him, could not belong to the Earl of Arran, who was only an illegitimate son of James IV. The cardinal appeared disposed in favor of Lennox; Lennox in his turn assisted the cardinal in rendering his party dominant in the northern provinces of Scotland, by taking under his special charge the infant royal and transporting it to Stirling Castle, one of the strongest in the country.

Henry heard of this translation with pain; he feared that Mary would be sent to France, and he endeavored to prevent it. He offered the regent the assistance of an English army; he promised him anew the hand of Elizabeth for his son, and for himself the sovereignty of Scotland beyond the Frith;* and as the regent did

* The Frith is the navigable outlet of the River Forth, which laves the walls of Edinburgh.

not respond to his advances, Henry sided with Lennox, who disagreed with the cardinal, because the cardinal was on terms of agreement with the regent. Lennox, influenced likewise by his passion for Margaret Douglas, daughter of the earl of Angus, and niece of Henry, concluded by joining the partisans of England. They were all bound by an oath, similar to that which formerly bound the *brothers in arms*, to live and die for each other. Knowledge of this compact was obtained through a copy of the oath found upon Somerville, who was arrested by the order of the regent; besides this copy was a letter to King Henry, asking assistance of him.

The regent, being urged then by the pope's legate, Mark Germani, and by the French ambassador, Labroche, decided unwillingly upon making war. He commenced by convoking Parliament, which assembled on the 3d of December. After a warm discussion, it was declared that the friends of England were traitors to their country, and that the treaty of the 1st of July was null, either on account of the delay of Henry to ratify it, or because he had permitted and sanctioned the hostile acts of his frontier governors, and because he had seized many merchant ships belonging to the inhabitants of

Edinburgh. Notwithstanding this formal declaration, the Earl of Arran endeavored to resume negotiations; but the king, who regarded him as alone culpable, would hear nothing, and during the month of May, (1544,) Seymour, earl of Hereford, and uncle of Prince Edward, arrived in the Frith with an armed body of ten thousand men. He demanded that the young queen be delivered to him; and, upon the regent's refusal, disembarked his troops, and marched to Edinburgh, where he was joined by a body of five thousand knights, who came from Berwick. The next day he forced the gate of the city, which was delivered up, for four days, to pillage and incendiarism. After this noble exploit, and upon the news that the regent was collecting his troops, Seymour gave the order to retreat. He burned, as he passed, the cities of Seaton, Haddington, and Dunbar, whilst his fleet burned Leith and demolished the pier; he arrived at Berwick without having suffered much loss.

This war lasted nearly three years; on each side were cities ruined, territory devastated, and much blood spilled; yet Henry's demands had not been acceded to. Lennox, on marrying Margaret Douglas, had promised Henry his castle of Dumbarton; but the indignant garrison

closed the gates of the fortress, refused to receive Lennox himself, and shortly afterwards delivered the place to the regent. The barbarous Henry, hearkening only to his wrath, ordered the throats of the Scottish hostages, who were confined at Carlisle, to be cut. Surely, if before the war the Scots were opposed to English rule, the manner in which they were treated, and the massacre of the hostages, no longer allowed them to see in Henry but an odious tyrant, an enemy of God and man, seeking to extinguish his unjust resentment in the blood of the people.

Unhappily for Scotland, the King of France was only able to send a small body of troops. Obligated to defend himself at the same time against his eternal enemy, Charles V., and against Henry, his old friend and the perfidious instigator of this war, he had need of all his resources for himself, and was constrained to neglect Scotland. This was what Henry desired, who, besides, to color his aggression, spoke very haughtily of his three grievances against Francis; fomenting the troubles in Scotland, and furnishing succor of every kind to those whom he styled rebels; that is to say, to the partisans of the young queen and the regent, the enemies of English sovereignty; of wishing to seize Mary, to

convey her to France in order to hinder the future union of Scotland and England by the marriage of the heir of the kingdom with Prince Edward; of having said — and this was Henry's principal charge, being a new prophet, who wished that his opinions and acts should be for the whole world acts of faith — that his marriage with Anne Boleyn was null, and that he had only contracted it by violating his promise not to marry this woman.

It is true that Barnet published a statement in which it is contended that Francis had declared that Henry's marriage with Catharine, his brother's widow, was radically null; that consequently that of Anne was valid, and that the pope's decision in the affair was the consequence of error and injustice. Barnet went farther: Francis, according to him, obligated himself and his successors to maintain this opinion by arms. As this paper has neither date nor signature, it is presumable that it was fabricated in England, presented, perhaps, to the King of France, and rejected by him; who, according to the testimony of Cardinal Pole, responded to the warm solicitations of Henry on the subject of the divorce: "I am and wish to be his friend, *but only to the altar.*"

Charles V., who was as dishonest as he was powerful, was much less scrupulous than the King of France, and he was easily persuaded by Henry; for since the *natural* death of Catharine — the emperor's aunt — and the *violent* death of Anne Boleyn — she was decapitated — there was no longer any subject for misunderstanding between them, and nothing should hinder them from uniting against France. The emperor modestly exacted one condition: he wished the Princess Mary, daughter of Catharine, to be re-established in her rank of legitimate daughter of the king, and consequently, in all her rights to the succession. This was placing Henry in great embarrassment; for this recognition of the rights of the daughter proved explicitly the rights of the mother; Parliament complaisantly upheld him in this evil course, declaring Mary capable of succeeding, without making any mention of her legitimacy; it was a kind of compromise between the exigencies of the emperor and the old hatred of Henry. It was agreed between them, by the treaty of the 11th of February, 1543, that they would jointly summon Francis I. to renounce his alliance with the Porte, to repay all the damage which might have resulted to individual Christians by this impious alli-

ance,* by paying to the King of England the arrears of the pension which he claimed from him, and by giving him security for the payment of expiring annuities. Finally, if the King of France did not settle these sums in forty days from his acceptance of these conditions, the emperor would reclaim the duchy of Burgundy, and the King of England would claim all the possessions of his predecessors in France.

Francis did not even wish to hear the herald who was sent to notify him of the demand of the allied princes. They expected a refusal, and were prepared for war; Francis had not believed the danger imminent; besides, he could not prevent his kingdom being invaded by Luxembourg and Calais. The emperor, not meeting with any resistance, had penetrated into the heart of Champagne; but provisions suddenly failed him, and it would have been very easy for Francis to starve him in his camp, and force him to surrender without fighting, had not the Duchess of

* It is strange enough to hear Charles V. and Henry VIII. hold such language—one, who besieged the pope in Rome, and caused prayers to be offered up in Spain for his deliverance, the ally of the Bey of Tunis, the assassin of his brothers, the protector of all the sectarians of Germany, &c.; the other, the enraged enemy of Catholicism, and the founder of a pretended religion, which was with him but the worship of the passions.

Etampes, abusing the silly confidence of the king, given him the advice which saved him and his army. The treaty of Cressy (September, 1544) terminated the war with the emperor. Henry, on his side, made himself master of Boulogne, and returned to England in the following winter. Francis resolved to let fall upon Henry the whole weight of his resentment; he equipped a numerous fleet, and insulted with impunity the coasts of England, but could not take Calais, or retake Boulogne.

This bad success, which was unjustly imputed to the general of the French army, had damped the bellicose spirit of the King of France, whilst the King of England was no less tired of a war in which was to be gained neither profit nor honor; propositions of peace were made, and a brief armistice was concluded, which was profited by to regulate the conditions of the treaty. It was agreed that for the future Francis should pay the pension stipulated in 1525;* that commis-

* This was during the captivity of Francis, after the battle of Pavia. The French cabinet then purchased peace of England, and the renunciation of its ancient claims, for the sum of two millions of golden crowns, and, moreover, an annual and for life pension of two hundred thousand crowns, which would, nevertheless, only commence after the capital of two millions should be paid at convenient periods.

sioners should be appointed to settle a pretended debt of Henry of six million crowns; that the King of England should restore, in eight years, the city of Boulogne, upon Francis's paying him the sum of two millions of crowns. Thus this was only a monetary treaty, by which Henry, who was supposed to be the richest prince of Europe, sought the whole advantage. (June, 1546.)

Heaven did not permit his cupidity to be glutted in enjoyment, nor his eyes to be gratified by the sight of this gold, for which alone he seemed to have combated for many years. Worn out by pleasures, fatigued by excesses, he scarcely supported the weight of his body; he was, besides, not of an advanced age,—he was only fifty-six years of age,—but he had become so enormously fat that he could no longer sustain himself, and it was only with the assistance of an easy chair on wheels that he could pass from one apartment to another. He had not even strength to sign his despatches; three secretaries were constantly near him, to attach to documents requiring his signature a dry stamp, bearing the name of the king, and to follow the traces marked by the stamp with a pen. To this extraordinary corpulence was added an ulcer in the

thigh, which had more than once threatened his life, and which, at this epoch, defied all the art of the physicians. The acridity of his temperament, his habitually irritated state, his suspicions, his fears of all about him, contributed not a little to increase his malady. He died on the night of the 28th of January, 1547.

Francis was at St. Germain when he received the news of Henry's death. He was so much the more grievously affected by it because, being about the same age, — fifty-three years, — he had for a long time feared that his career was about to close. Francis had, in fact, ruined his health in his more tender years by intemperance, and, slowly consumed by the malady, he felt that premature old age would have but a short term; he survived *his eldest brother* — thus he called the King of England — only two months. "My eldest brother is gone!" exclaimed he, sighing; "my turn is not far off."

The Scots learned the death of Francis with much sorrow; for they lost a protector, and they knew not if Henry, his successor, would take the same interest in them and their sovereign. It was known, however, that the princes of Lorraine would have great influence at Paris, the queen mother being the sister of the Duke of

Guise; and this circumstance gave much hope; it was known besides that this prince hated the English; he had, then, a double motive for watching the welfare of Scotland, as much as his own welfare in France would permit him. His protection appeared to be so much the more necessary as Cardinal Beaton, the zealous follower of the house of Stuart, had been treacherously assassinated.

Henry VIII. had not forgiven him for withdrawing Mary from his pursuit; and he had not rejected the offer which had been made by William Kirkaldi, Wishart, and some others, to deliver him by assassination from the troublesome prelate, whom he always found in his way. Not to repel a proposition of this kind with the indignation which it would have excited in an honest soul, was to authorize the murder, to order its execution. Nevertheless, two years passed before the commission of the crime; the prudence and activity of the cardinal had rendered abortive all the attempts directed against his life; but at the end of that time, George Wishart, starting as a preacher, had publicly sought to propagate the new doctrine; he joined to impiety the spirit of revolt, and with the new gospel he preached insurrection. He was

arrested, tried, and condemned, as seditious and heretical; and from that time the death of the cardinal was sworn anew. Profiting by the negligence of the warder, the murderers entered, about daybreak, the Castle of St. Andrew's, where the cardinal was, and penetrating even to his chamber, there killed him. The assassins were sustained by the partisans of reform, and all together demanded the protection of the King of England: this protection was granted them.

The Scots had been comprised in the treaty of peace of June, 1546; but Henry would not subscribe to any other condition than to abstain from hostility so long as he was not attacked. On his side, the Earl of Arran previously exacted the remittal of the forts which the English occupied, and he moreover wished that the assassins of the cardinal should be delivered up to justice.

After some fruitless negotiations, Arran besieged the murderers in St. Andrew's; but at the commencement of the month of February, 1547, he was obliged to raise the siege, in order to preside over the assembly of the three orders of the nation. The death of Henry caused no change in the policy of the cabinet of St. James, and the Earl of Herfort, created Duke of Somerset and regent of the kingdom, under the title of *Pro-*

tector, made two treaties with the murderers. In one, the latter engaged to do all in their power to speed the projected union of the Queen of Scotland and the infant King of England, and not to deliver up, under any pretext, possession of the castle without the written consent of the king and the protector. In the other they contracted the infamous obligation of joining the English army, which would enter Scotland to seize the person of Mary, and to deliver the castle to English commissioners, as soon as Mary should be in the power of Edward, and the marriage celebrated.

These disloyal agreements were followed by their desired reward — pensions, largesses, gold; gold, that agent of corruption, which, for so many ages, the worldly happy have used to reward treason, forgetfulness of duties, and bartered consciences.

The governor was fortunately informed of the second treaty; it was easy for him to divine the rest, and prepare to subvert the intentions of the protector, Somerset. He immediately published a proclamation, calling upon all loyal men to repair, within forty-eight hours, to a place indicated, with a month's provision. Scotland, said he, threatened with an invasion by her eternal

enemy, appeals to all her children. For more security, the governor had recourse to the new King of France, Henry II., in whose name were solemnly renewed the treaties of alliance existing between the two kingdoms; moreover, prompt assistance in men and money was promised.

The English lords, who resided upon the frontier, being animated by the hope of pillage, anticipated the preparing hostilities, and made many irruptions into Scotland. Arran hastened with many troops; he even proposed besieging Langhope and Cawmyllis, which would serve as exercise grounds and resting points for the aggressors, when he received the happy news that Strozzi, prior of Capua, had brought him several French galleys, laden with troops. A junction having been formed with these, the combined army invested the Castle of St. Andrew's. In a little time the French artillery opened a considerable breach, and the garrison, not wishing to be exposed to the consequences of an assault, surrendered on the sole condition of having their lives spared. The governor demolished the entire fortification, in order that if, during the course of the war, the castle should refall into the hands of the English, they could not make of it a fortified position.

In the interim, the regent did not forget the object of the treaties, and when he had concluded his preparations, which was in the month of August, he invaded Scotland with an army of twenty thousand men, whilst a fleet of twenty-four galleys, followed by as many transports, sailed along the coast without losing sight of the army on land. Arran made use of the signals used by one clan* with another, designating Musselburg as the rendezvous; but so many came thither that the governor, whom this multitude would have embarrassed, selected only thirty thousand men, and dismissed all the others. He soon set out to arrest the progress of the enemy, and a rencounter of cavalry took place shortly after at Falside, in which there was nothing decisive. The next day, (September 10,) the governor having crossed the River Esk, the protector seized the neighboring eminence, called Pinkencleugh. This double movement caused a great battle, in which Fortune declared herself against the Scots. Victory had appeared at first

The signals which were formerly used in Scotland to announce a hostile invasion consisted of two lighted torches, attached, in the form of a cross, to the end of a lance. At this signal every Scot was bound to hasten to arms to aid in repelling the aggression. A Scottish tribe was, and is still, designated by the name of *clan*.

in their favor, and the English cavalry had been routed; but the Scottish Highlanders, pursuing them, were themselves soon attacked by fresh and veteran troops, who put them, in their turn, to complete rout. The victory was principally determined by a battery which Somerset had planted on an eminence, and, above all, by the artillery from the galleys. The Earl of Huntley, chancellor of Scotland, and Lords Yester and Wemyss were made prisoners. It is said the loss of the vanquished amounted to eight thousand men.

The protector pursued his advantage; he marched upon Leith, which he delivered up for four days to pillage; he devastated all the surrounding villages; and, after this singular exploit by a man who wished to gain the Scots to the cause of the King of England, he hastily retired, followed closely by the governor, who had rallied a body of cavalry. This precipitate retreat, after a brilliant victory, surprised the enemies of the English as much as it afflicted their partisans, who were exposed defenceless to the governor's resentment. Somerset was in no need of provisions; the winter had not yet commenced; and he could not fear the enemy whom he had overcome. What motive had he then in hurrying far

away from the theatre of his glory? Some believe that, intoxicated with success, he wished to enjoy it before the people of London; others are of the opinion, perhaps with more reason, that his authority had made many persons discontented, at whose head was his own brother, the lord admiral; that their secret manœuvres menaced his power, and that he only returned in order to subvert the plan of his enemies.

The check received by the Scots did not render them better disposed towards the English than they had previously been; their antipathy, as might be expected, only increased, and the thought alone of the marriage of their queen with the odious King of England excited as violent murmurs in the thatched cots of the Highlanders as in the hotels of Edinburgh. It is probable, however, that this marriage would have been really advantageous for Scotland; but how change into sentiments of affection the inveterate hatred which the descendants of the Picts had always preserved towards the descendants of the Britons? How wish that Scotland, which had so often fought for her independence, should become in a day an English province? How think, above all, that the religion of the country — Scotland was yet Catholic — must be altered,

corrupted, annihilated, by contact with the impious doctrines of Henry VIII., aggravated still by young Edward? It was not enough to deliver to this prince the cherished person of their young queen; it was necessary, besides, that the religion of the passions, created by Henry, should blemish the new and candid soul of Mary. These were thoughts which all the Scots abhorred.

Some, and especially the Earl of Huntley, described the ingenious method which the English put in practice to gain the hearts of the Scots — to make war with Scotland, pillage its cities, burn and devastate its lands, massacre its inhabitants! Surely it was an entirely new mode of causing themselves to be beloved by the people; and the protector should undoubtedly congratulate himself on the great advantages he gained by the victory. The Earl of Huntley was right, and the protector soon perceived that he had only added with his own hand insuperable obstacles to the obstacles which natural prejudices opposed to him.

Many Scottish lords, having assembled at Stirling, resolved to invoke the assistance of France, the ancient and faithful ally of Scotland. It was also resolved in this assembly to offer the

dauphin the hand of the young Mary, upon whose infantine figure were already to be seen the delicate traits of beauty, in her words a touching grace, in her least actions all the goodness of a generous heart. They added, that, for greater security, it would be meet to send Mary to the court of France, where she would be educated under the eyes of the king and her uncles, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. (1547.)

On his side, the protector, to repair the evil which he had performed on his vandalic expedition to Leith, caused to be circulated through all parts of the kingdom a proclamation, in English and Latin, in which he imputed all the misfortunes of the war to the Earl of Arran and his associates. "Scots," said he, "to whom will you marry your young queen? To a foreign prince? Your country will then become dependent on this foreign prince; you will append it to his crown. Will you give her to one of your peers? Alas! you will perpetuate the old quarrel which divides our two kingdoms. For eight ages no occasion so favorable as the present one has offered to crush forever the germ of our divisions. Your young queen and our young king, by uniting their crowns, would preserve to Scotland her laws and liberties: the Scots and

English would be henceforth but one people, under the common name of Britons, and there would arise for both a new era of happiness."

Confiding little in the power of his eloquence, the protector committed the same fault he had already committed; he wished to sustain his proclamation by arms, and Lord Gray arrived, followed by a powerful army. The city of Dalkeith was reduced to ashes; that of Haddington was garrisoned by soldiers, who were principally English and Italians. At the moment when Lord Gray was preparing to return to England, a French squadron anchored at Leith, bringing two thousand French and three thousand German veterans, commanded by the brave D'Essé. Arran joined him with eight thousand men, and the siege of Haddington was soon undertaken and vigorously carried on. Nevertheless, although the breach was already practicable, D'Essé did not wish to assault the place, lest the Scots, yet little inured to discipline, would lose courage in case of evil success; and he preferred turning the siege into a blockade—a more protracted but surer means of reducing the place.

Whilst the blockade lasted, Arran had convoked the estates of the kingdom in a monastery

adjacent to the city. The decision which the lords had taken at Stirling was then fully confirmed, and a treaty of alliance exchanged between the governor and the French ambassador. Dessoles, Labrosse, and Villegagnon, the commanders of the squadron, soon set sail with a fair wind, in a southern direction, as if to return directly to France; but when fairly at sea, and out of sight of land, suddenly changing their course to the north, they proceed to Dumbarton, received on board the queen and all her household,* and after a short voyage, arrived without accident at the port of Brest. (1548.) From this city, where she was received with the acclamation of the inhabitants, Mary was conducted to St. Germain en Laye, where the king received her as a cherished and long-expected daughter. Henry II., forgetting or neglecting the advice of his father, who feared the ambition of the princes of Lorraine, and had recommended him to remove them from power, had placed his confidence

* The queen was accompanied by four young girls of her own age, who all bore the same name as their mistress, and are called the queen's Maries. They were, Mary Beaton, niece of Cardinal Beaton, Mary Fleming, daughter of Lord Fleming, Mary Livingstone, daughter of one of the queen's guardians, and Mary Seaton, daughter of Lord Seaton.

in the Duke and Cardinal of Guise,* uncles of the young Mary; and they — although they had no particular affection for the young Queen of Scotland, whom they had never seen — earnestly desired that she would espouse the dauphin, because they hoped that she would one day be in their hands a docile instrument, of whom they expected to make use in directing her husband, if he ascended the throne. They obtained from the king the formal renewal of the promise made to their sister, the queen dowager of Scotland, that the marriage of Mary and the dauphin should take place when they arrived at the proper age: meanwhile, they were betrothed with much pomp.

* Charles, known later as the Cardinal of Lorraine, and then called *Guise*, because the old cardinal of Lorraine, his uncle, still lived.

CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF TROUBLES. — REIGN AND DEATH OF MARY OF
ENGLAND. — ELIZABETH. — PEACE OF CATEAU CAMBRESIS. —
MARRIAGE OF MARY STUART.

It was evident that Mary's departure for France removed from the English every pretext for continuing the war in Scotland. Henry II. declared, besides, to the cabinet of St. James, that, as father and father-in-law of the King and Queen of Scotland, he would oppose any act of hostility on the part of England to that kingdom; he consequently required the protector to abstain therefrom during the minority of the betrothed. Somerset returned a refusal to the French ambassador; and to show that he firmly intended to achieve what he had commenced, being irritated besides by the loss of a convoy charged with revictualling Haddington, he sent Shrewsbury into Scotland with an army of twenty-two thousand men. D'Essé, who had too few forces to resist, immediately raised the siege; but he intrenched himself so well in an advantageous position, that Shrewsbury durst

not attack him. The English general brought, it is true, some assistance to the place ; but it was only adding a new sacrifice to losses already experienced, for, a little while after, Haddington was obliged to surrender ; the forts of Home Castle and Fast Castle also opened their gates, and the Scots, in their turn crossing the borders, penetrated even to Newcastle, and repaid the English for the evil inflicted on them, by burning twenty villages. D'Essé afterwards departed for France, leaving the command to Marshal Termes, who had brought a reënforcement of thirteen hundred men. The new general pursued the policy of his predecessor, hazarded nothing, fatigued the English, and destroyed all the ascendancy which their former successes had given them. England was, besides, delivered up to intestine dissensions, which threatened the existence of its present government ; so that the protector, obliged to watch around himself to overthrow the hostile plots of his own brother, Seymour, could devote but little attention to Scotland, which was less disposed than ever to submit to the yoke. (1549.)

Henry II., declaring war in the interim, redoubled the protector's embarrassment. It is pretended that he had proposed to the council

regent to make peace with Scotland, to surrender Boulogne to the King of France for a pecuniary indemnification, to contract with that prince a treaty of alliance, having for its object the assistance of the Protestants in Germany, and thus oppose a barrier to the grasping power of the emperor. But the majority of the council resolutely opposed the protector. To return the city of Boulogne to the King of France, said they, is to wish England's humiliation and the disgrace of the king's government. It would be much better to intrust that fortress—if they did not wish to guard it—to the emperor, and offer the crown of Scotland to the Earl of Arran; France would then cease to threaten Great Britain, and the king would at least have time to prepare all his resources. But the emperor would not accept the gift which they offered him; he perceived that it would be difficult to maintain it without the assistance of English vessels, which would have cramped his policy and wounded his pride; besides, he had concluded a treaty of peace with Henry II., and, although he scrupled little breaking his faith when his interest required it, he desired in this case to appear faithful to his contracts.

On the other hand, Henry, offended by the

haughty response of Somerset to his ambassador, sent a considerable army into the Boulonnais, and soon followed in person with more troops, ruined all the fortifications erected by the English before the city on the land side, and blockaded the city itself very carefully, expecting that the want of provisions would oblige the garrison to surrender before the end of winter. Thus it would cost neither money nor soldiers to restore the place to the ancient domain. Henry expected that inability, or the troubles which agitated England, would prevent the protector from assisting the garrison of Boulogne.

These troubles were caused by the jealousy with which the protector inspired the Earl of Warwick and his friends, by the almost unlimited extent of power he had arrogated to himself, and which he had confirmed with the blood of his own brother, shed by the hand of the executioner. They resulted in the overthrow of this despotic authority; Somerset was arrested, conducted to the Tower, tried by Parliament, deprived of all his offices, and his life was only spared because he was the king's uncle. His property was divided between the principal conspirators; but then happened what almost always happens when rivals in power supplant

each other: the last comers follow the route which they find traced, imitate the policy which they condemned in their predecessors, and thus prepare troubles for themselves from men, who, after having them a day dismissed from their post, only continue their work. They had considered it a crime in Somerset to have counselled the abandonment of Boulogne and peace with Scotland, and these were the first administrative acts of Warwick and his associates. They alleged that the garrison of Boulogne was in need of ammunition and provisions, and that the treasury was drained; that the emperor had made a special peace, and that the whole weight of the war would fall upon Great Britain. Propositions were at first indirectly made on the part of the cabinet of St. James, through the interposition of a Florentine merchant, named Antonio Guidotti. He commenced by proposing the pure and simple abandonment of Boulogne, provided the Queen of Scotland would marry King Edward. This proposition was disdainfully rejected; it was answered that Mary was already betrothed to the dauphin. Afterwards Guidotti demanded the payment of the pension which Henry VIII. had obtained from Francis I., and the arrears of that pension. "What!" was

exclaimed in the French council, "are we then never to conclude a war with England but with money? Will then neither arms nor arms—*ni armes ni bras*—avail us?" The answer made to the second proposition served only to inflame their resentment. Never, said they, will the King of France condescend to pay tribute to a foreign power. When Henry VIII. was promised a pension, or rather, said they, when he extorted it, he availed himself of the temporary necessity of Francis I.; Henry II. would now, in his turn, profit by Edward's embarrassment to constrain him to renounce it. The English plenipotentiaries then threatened to terminate the conference; but the French, who perceived their superiority, desired to dictate, and did in fact dictate, the terms of the treaty. (24th of March, 1550.)

It was agreed that there be peace and perpetual union between the two powers; that Boulogne be restored to the King of France, with all the *materiel* which was found in it at the time of its capture; that as remuneration for the fortifications which the English had added to it, Henry II. should pay two hundred thousand crowns at the time of its delivery, and a like sum five months thereafter; that Dunglass

and Lauder be restored to the Queen of Scotland, and in case these two fortresses were not in their possession, the English should raze those of Roxburgh and Aymouth; that Scotland be comprised in the treaty, if the queen's government signified their acceptance within forty days from its signature; that the pretensions or claims of England against Scotland and France, as well as those of France and Scotland against England, be mutually reserved.

The English, who, in their treaties with France, always opposed all conditions not onerous for the latter, as if they were plaintiffs for an established wrong, regarded that of the 24th of March as a truly national calamity. They could not bear the thought of the reduction to the fifth of the sum of two millions offered by the predecessor of Henry II. for the evacuation; they were indignant at having renounced the marriage of Edward and Mary of Scotland; and they regretted this pension which Henry had demanded and obtained, to abandon his pretensions to the crown of France, for they regarded as mere form, and of no real weight, the reservation of reciprocal rights which terminated the treaty.

If the English murmured, the orthodox Scots,

on their side, returned thanks to Providence for having deigned to preserve their young queen from this unlucky union, wherein example would not have failed to corrupt her faith by the ascendancy which the fanatic Edward would have necessarily had over her. We say orthodox Scots, for the new doctrines had already penetrated into Scotland; and those who believed in preserving in its primitive purity the faith of their ancestors, were unaware that Henry's young son impelled even to frenzy his religious enthusiasm for the creation of his father. He even persecuted his own sister, the Princess Mary, daughter of the unfortunate infanta of Spain, who had educated her in the religion professed by herself. Mary, being tormented by her brother's agents, and unprotected, had secretly applied to the emperor.* As the English government had need of the emperor's alliance at that time, to keep up appearances in France, Mary was allowed to enjoy a little liberty of conscience, although the ambassadors of Charles obtained it with difficulty. But after the treaty of peace of the 24th of March had rendered the friend-

* Charles V. was cousin german of Mary, the infanta Catharine being the sister of Jane, who married the Archduke Philip, father of Charles V.

ship of the emperor less necessary, the persecution of the Princess Mary recommenced, and messages from the council and letters from her brother rapidly followed; he, in his proselytic zeal, pretended to have more authority in religious matters than his father had had, and added, that his sincere piety, and the affection he bore his sister, did not allow him to leave her without the means of salvation; he offered to send her teachers who might dissipate her ignorance and cause her to recognize her errors. All that Mary could say was useless; the formal demand which the Austrian ambassador made in her favor met with a decided refusal; and as it was rumored that Mary intended to quit the kingdom, a fleet was equipped to intercept her. Two of her chaplains, being judicially prosecuted, were violently withdrawn from her, and she was obliged to be present at conferences with the pretended doctors of her brother. She was contented with replying, "My soul is God's, and nothing will destroy the faith in my heart." The next day the Austrian ambassador declared peremptorily that if the promises made to Mary were violated, his master would assist her by force of arms.

This explicit declaration perplexed the ortho-

doxy of the council. English merchants had vessels, merchandise, and considerable sums of money in the emperor's dominions ; the government itself had in Flanders depôts of powder and military equipments ; a declaration of war would cause them to lose all. Was not this purchasing a conversion at too high a price ? But the conscience of the demoniac Edward was so scrupulous that it would yield to no concession ; to allow his sister to remain *in idolatry* was of itself to persist in mortal sin to his damnation. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Rochester employed all their art to prove to him that, although it was a sin to tolerate sin, this tolerance was, however, pardonable when all that it was possible to do had been done. Edward reluctantly submitted to the decision of the grave doctors ; but he shed abundant tears on considering that his beloved sister would voluntarily lose her soul by obstinately remaining in the Catholic religion : it grieved him that he was not allowed to convert her *nolens volens*, as had been his intention.

The three prelates, and the members of the council, very orthodox in their heresy, had probably some remorse for the advice they had given the king. In truth, they only wished to tem-

porize; for orders were given that every thing in the Flemish magazines should be removed, and secret notices were circulated amongst the trade that each one might effect the getting in of his funds or merchandise. Meanwhile the ambassador was informed that the king would send his answer to the emperor by a special envoy. Edward, in fact, sent Dr. Wotton, who endeavored by adroit sophisms to persuade the emperor that the new religion adopted by England was only the Catholic religion reduced to its first principles; in a word, the religion of the apostles. The council was fully persuaded that Wotton would not convince any one; but the discussion would gain time, which was all they desired.

Whilst this was passing at the court of Vienna, the council redoubled its efforts with Mary; and this princess, whom Protestant writers have painted in the blackest colors, always repelled with as much firmness as nobility their perfidious insinuations, entreaties, and threats.* The Scots

* Many of Mary's letters, written to her brother, are extant. "Give me leave," she says, "to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed they be signed with your own hand; and nevertheless, in my opinion, not your majesty's in effect. Because it is well known, that although (our Lord be praised) your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than any other of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can be judge in

were not ignorant of all these vile manœuvres employed against an unprotected princess to pervert her ; and the more odious they appeared, the more they applauded the measures taken to withdraw their young queen from danger. Edward had not yet renounced all hopes of obtaining Mary Stuart. The protector, Somerset, whom a court intrigue had removed from power, had wished to resume his ascendancy over the king, who appeared to notice with interest his third daughter, Lady Anne Seymour. He offered her his hand, but the Earl of Warwick and his friends defeated the project by proposing, through the council, to demand for their sovereign the hand of a French princess.

A brilliant embassy, at the head of which was the Marquis of Northampton, proceeded to France, about the middle of the summer, to invest the

matters of religion. And therefore I take it, that the matter in your letter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves ; by whose doings (your majesty not offended) I intend not to rule my conscience !” When they wished to compel her chaplains to use the new liturgy, they declared, after having consulted her, that they would rather suffer any thing than act against their conscience ; but a short time after, having promised obedience, Mary, being urged anew, replied, as a religious Christian, that, rather than suffer the least change in the tenets or practice of the religion she professed, she would lay her head upon the block.

king with the order of the garter, and to demand of him a spouse for the King of England. Northampton at first named Mary Stuart, and received a positive refusal. He afterwards named the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Henry; and without making a positive engagement, Henry acceded to the request, which was, however, postponed until Elizabeth should have completed her twelfth year.

The queen dowager of Scotland was then in France. On her return, she landed at Portsmouth, whence she prayed the King of England to allow her to continue her journey by land, which was immediately granted. Orders were at the same time given that she should be received every where with the greatest honor. The king invited her to pass through London, where he received her with great marks of affection and respect. The queen was equally respectful; but she persisted no less in her intention not to receive him for a son-in-law.

Meanwhile the health of the king became more and more enfeebled, (1553;) it was foreseen that his death would be a fruitful cause of troubles, because the crown had many aspirants, and the nearest heirs, such as Henry's two daughters, might be set aside on account of religion or ille-

gitimacy. The ambitious Northumberland, who, since the fall of Somerset, enjoyed all the favor of Edward, — Northumberland, the richest and most powerful of the English lords, — feared not to aspire to the supreme power, not for himself, it is true, but for his son Dudley, to whom had been married, with the king's approbation, Lady Jane Gray, granddaughter of Mary, the sister of Henry VIII.* The will of the latter, and an act of Parliament besides, had declared Mary and Elizabeth presumptive heirs; but the ancient statutes declaring them illegitimate had not been repealed, and it was presumed that such illegitimacy might be successfully opposed in bar of their claim. These two princesses discarded, the crown would revert to the sisters of Henry VIII., Margaret, widow of James V., King of Scotland, and Mary, widow of Louis XII., King of France; but the antipathy of the English for the Scots sufficed to cause the Scottish line to be excluded: there remained then only the descendants of Mary. But Mary had only a daughter, Frances, wife of Lord Gray; and she consented to yield all her right to her eldest daughter, Lady Jane.

* It was this Mary who married Louis XII. some months before his death, when she married the Duke of Suffolk, who had loved her prior to her first marriage.

Northumberland had no difficulty in obtaining from the king an act disinheriting his two sisters ; he had only to represent to him that if Mary ascended the throne she would surely destroy the new religion ; against Elizabeth he alleged the blemish of illegitimacy. Provided with this important document, Northumberland assembled the council in order to have it ratified, and at first met with an obstinate resistance. Many members explained the reason of their opposition before the king himself ; but influenced by the threats and promises of Northumberland, all finally ratified the will of the king, who died in a few days after. (6th of July.)

His death had been expected for a long time, and all the parties were present when it occurred ; yet Northumberland and his friends kept it secret for two or three days, so as to have time to prepare for their success. They were encouraged by the French ambassador, Noailles, who made them hope for the assistance of his master. In fact, France did not desire that Mary should ascend the throne, for she only acted by the advice of the emperor ; and they feared, with some reason, that he would make her accept of his son for a husband, which would augment the power of Austria, already influencing Germany

and the Peninsula. On his side, the emperor's ambassador sustained, with all his power, the interests of Mary. Catholics and Protestants naturally joined the two parties, which were divided into two factions, that of Northumberland, or Jane Gray, and that of Elizabeth.

This is not the place to describe the interesting events which took place in London—the elevation and fall of the unfortunate Jane, the accession of Mary, her marriage, the conspiracies which shook her throne, and the part she took in the war which Philip II. made against France. We will only say, that the loss of the battle of St. Quintin's, (1557,) where ten thousand English were enrolled in the ranks of the Spanish army, had some influence upon the lot of Mary Stuart, whose marriage, for a long time postponed, but until now retarded by the extreme youth of the future bridegroom, was fixed for an approaching period. Henry wished to interest the Scots in his cause, by whom England would be kept busy whilst he would resist the King of Spain and the emperor in Flanders and Italy.

Hardly had the Scots learned that Mary had declared war with France, than, feeling their former hatred revive, they flew to arms. The regent and the queen dowager profited by this

national movement to render popular the idea of making the greatest efforts for France ; nevertheless, this enthusiasm was not sustained. Engagements took place on the frontier ; but the secret partisans of England soon represented that the war which had been commenced was for a cause entirely foreign to Scotland, and that they were exposing the welfare of the country without any adequate cause. These arguments, passing from mouth to mouth, gradually cooled their spirits, and the army disbanded. Thus, said Lord Shrewsbury in his governmental report, this enterprise, begun with so much bravery, ended in dishonor and shame.

But when the Scots were aware that their betrothed queen was about to become a spouse, that every thing was prepared for the august ceremony, that many Scottish lords, who were invited to be present, had already departed, that the Queen of Scotland would become dauphiness of France, and the dauphin of France sovereign of Scotland, thoughts of alliance and devotedness were reawakened ; to serve France was to serve the queen and their country. On the other hand, they were not ignorant that the Queen of England had much difficulty in restraining the discontented in her own kingdom,

and that, engaged in war with France to please her husband, she could not carry on a war in Scotland with much vigor; this presumption was soon changed into certainty.

Whilst the Constable Montmorency, an old general, was defeated at St. Quintin's, for not heeding the advice of the Prince of Condé, a young warrior, the Duke of Guise, Mary's uncle, forced the Spaniards in Italy to grant Pope Paul IV. an advantageous peace. The disaster of St. Quintin's caused Guise to be recalled; who, on arriving, received the title of generalissimo. The soldiers received him with transports of joy; they remembered that Guise, with a handful of brave soldiers, had defended Metz, when almost dismantled, against the emperor commanding in person an army of one hundred thousand men, and that he had obliged them to raise the siege shamefully. With Guise at their head, the troops believed themselves invincible; and he promised to lead them to the enemy in a short time.

For more than two ages Calais had been in the possession of the English, and was believed to be impregnable. It had on one side the sea, on the other a morass; the narrow way which united it to the continent through the morass was intersected by ditches, and provided with

forts. It appeared impossible to approach it, and the English reckoned so well upon the obstacles which nature opposed to a land attack, that they had made of the city a vast commercial magazine, as well as a depot for arms, ammunition, and artillery. It was this *impregnable* place of which Guise undertook the conquest. It should be stated that S  narpont, the governor of Boulogne, having had several occasions to repair to Calais, had attentively examined the fortifications of the city, and had drawn a very correct plan of them, though made at intervals. It was known, besides, that as winter approached, the English diminished their garrison, through motives of economy. Admiral Coligni, it is said, first suggested profiting by this security of the English, who, during the middle of winter, least anticipated an attack. "It is," said he, "in the middle of winter that Calais must be surprised." Guise followed this wise advice, and happily executed the project. Twenty-five thousand veterans, followed by a considerable train of artillery, left Compi  gne on the 1st of January, 1558, and proceeded towards St. Quentin's. Having gone some distance, the army, suddenly changing its direction, proceeded to Calais by forced marches. In six days the advanced works, the castle, the

port, the city, were in the power of the French. On the 20th of the same month, the place of Guisnes capitulated, and the castle of Ham was evacuated; and on the 22d the whole canton, forming the county of Oye, submitted to the lot of Guisnes and Calais.

This little region was well cultivated, and covered with cattle; the city yielded immense booty. The artillery and ammunition became the property of the government; precious movables — gold, silver, and jewels — were distributed among the officers and soldiers. Guise kept nothing for himself, but he received in return from a part of the army increased affection and devotedness.

The news of the loss of Calais resounded at London like a thunder clap, and the entire population remained stupefied. To mitigate a little the public grief, the ministry ordered Lord Wentworth, governor of Calais, and many officers of the garrison, to appear before a council of war; but regret was not less smarting than universal. On seeing the consternation which reigned in London, one would have said that the enemy was at the gates of the capital. Queen Mary, whose already languishing health foreboded her end near, said, upon her death bed, that if her

chest were opened, the word *Calais* would be found engraven on her heart. The King of Spain, to whom this disaster was attributed, since he had obliged the queen, his wife, to declare war against France without any necessity, offered troops to Parliament; but they mistrusted his sincerity, being convinced that he only wished to retake Calais to keep it for himself. They were contented with equipping vessels to cruise upon the French coast, and endeavor to surprise some of their ports, so as to indemnify themselves for the loss of the lamented Calais.

Whilst this event increased the hatred of the English against France, the French, particularly the Parisians, celebrated the triumph of their favorite general by fêtes and public rejoicings. The king and all his court desired to take part, and the former even announced to the mayor of Paris that he would sup on Shrove Thursday at the *Hotel de Ville*. Every thing was immediately prepared to receive such a guest worthily. The floor of the hall was covered with mats, at that time a luxury; branches of ivy and garlands adorned the ceiling; and the walls were richly hung with silk stuffs, upon which were seen the escutcheons of the king, queen, Guise, and — what must have appeared astonishing — the Duchess

of Valentinois. Twenty-five ladies, the wives or daughters of the principal magistrates, were selected to escort the royal family, and twenty-five young men, all of whom were clad in silk, and belonged to the principal families of the citizens, waited at table.

After the supper, where some disorder was caused by the crowd pressing into the hall to see the king and his family, it was desired to have the poet Jodelle's lyric tragedy of *Orpheus* performed; but the assistants had invaded the theatre in such a manner that the actors could not perform for want of room. "It was," says Brantôme, "a tragi-comedy, in which music, dancing, and decorations were combined to words — a thing never before seen in France, for previously the buffoons and players of Bazoche were only spoken of. These beautiful pleasantries and fine comedies had been invented and performed in Italy not long before." Catharine de' Medici introduced them in France. The ball immediately replaced *Orpheus*, the performance of which was postponed to another day. This fête may be called brilliant for the epoch at which it was given. The art of rendering luxury elegant, and thus augmenting enjoyment, that is, of employing with exquisite taste the resources

which riches offer, did not yet exist ; but all that was then esteemed — gold, silver, and jewels — had been lavished in adorning the hall and adding splendor to dress.

Catharine de' Medici, surrounded by her maids of honor, animated the dancers by her presence. For a long time disdained by courtiers, who mete out their esteem or deference by the affection of their lord, Catharine, by art, intrigue, and complaisance, finally triumphed over the aversion which the king had for her ; and although he did not show her the tenderness which she might expect as a wife, she exercised considerable authority in the administration of affairs, which was what she desired ; for she always had more ambition than attachment for the person of her husband. The Duchess of Valentinois, that famous Diana of Poitiers, who, after having reigned over the heart of Francis I., exercised the same empire over that of Henry, was not far from the queen ; and the queen, who detested her, but who was a profound dissembler, loaded her with testimonials of her good will. But at the side of Catharine was noticed a young princess, upon whom Nature had strewn all her gifts — grace, beauty, an elegant figure, noble gait, majestic carriage, an expression in all her features, a

sweet and bold look, which at once commanded love and respect ; she also attracted all eyes, and the murmur of admiration which arose around her would have informed her of the sentiments she created, had presumption and vanity had access to her heart ; but Mary Stuart had all the innocence of youth, the candor of sixteen, and she remarked not the mute homage which Henry's courtiers paid her.

May Heaven preserve her in this happy ignorance, in order that in the midst of a dissolute court, where corruption takes no pains to cover itself with a mask, she may preserve the virtuous principles which have been inculcated to her ! Mary's uncles neither loved nor esteemed Catharine de' Medici, and they took care not to confide the education of their niece to her. On her arrival in France, she had been placed by them in an institution where she found excellent masters, who, successfully developing the beautiful qualities of her heart and mind, returned her to her uncles as virtuous and modest as she was brilliant. It is said that when scarcely ten years of age she pronounced before the king, Cardinal Lorraine, and many lords, a short Latin discourse, of her own composition, upon the advantages of instruction ; and in an age when the lords

were not devoted to science, the young Queen of Scotland passed justly for a prodigy.

Meanwhile the Duke of Guise came to Paris to enjoy his triumph and assist at the marriage of his niece. This marriage, which was eagerly desired by the house of Lorraine, was the reward reserved for the conqueror of Calais and the defender of Metz. Mary Stuart had not yet completed her sixteenth year, and the dauphin was about the same age; unfortunately, the feeble and languishing health of the latter foretold an early end.

The ceremony took place (24th April, 1558) in the church of Our Lady of Paris, (*Notre Dame*.) The duke performed the functions of grand master of the king's household, instead of the Constable of Montmorency, then a Spanish prisoner. This excited the jealousy of the latter, for he feared that Guise would engross the king's favor; and the Spaniards, who partly shared his fears on account of the result which would have followed the royal favor being concentrated upon the uncle of the dauphin, permitted the constable to return to France on his parole of honor.

CHAPTER III.

HATRED OF ELIZABETH TO MARY. — HER APOSTASY. — DEATH OF
HENRY II. — ACCESSION OF THE DAUPHIN AND MARY.

THE queen dowager of Scotland had not been present at the marriage of her daughter, cares of government not permitting her to absent herself. The reformers were addicted to the greatest excesses, and unfortunately she could only oppose to them prudence and sweetness; for they had strength because they comprised a great part of the people, and the most powerful lords of the kingdom had embraced their doctrines. For some years, the highest dignities in the church and the richest benefices were held by illegitimate * children of the sovereign, or by members of great houses, alike destitute of learning, inclined to debauch, having all the vices of the

* It may be proper to observe, that these commendatory abbots and priors received the income, but interfered not with the domestic economy, of the monasteries. Though they seldom took orders, they ranked as clergymen, and by their vices contributed to cover the profession with odium. Patly enough, they became converts to the new doctrines, thus securing to themselves and their heirs the lands of their benefices, or an equivalent.

class to which they belonged, and little embarrassed by the manners and instruction of their inferiors. The pride of these high dignitaries, their negligence in fulfilling their duties, the extreme rigor with which they insisted on the receipt of their revenues, were for the people continual subjects for murmurs; the propagators of new doctrines had only to declaim against the vices and oppression of the clergy to make numerous proselytes. Prelates became alarmed, and the Earl of Arran, then regent or governor of the kingdom, recalled the ancient statutes of Scotland against abettors or preachers of heretical doctrines, and added new penalties to them; but when the queen mother became regent, the reformers respired; the lords who favored them were of the queen's party, and all were of the opinion that tolerance should be used, if only to show herself grateful. The return from Geneva of John Knox,* the most fiery partisan of reform,

* "Knox was an apostate priest, and his whole conduct illustrates that observation which the experience of ages has converted into a maxim — *Omnis apostata osor acerrimus sui ordinis*, (Every apostate is the bitterest hater of the order from which he has apostatized.) Joined with the bitterness of the apostate, he had also the cunning of the tactician. When asked to show the lawfulness of his vocation, he said with a knowing leer, 'Buf! buf! man, as we are once entered here, let us see who will put us out again.' " — *Walter*.

caused the zeal of his friends to take a more rapid flight. This man, says Dr. Lingard, who joined to the enthusiasm of an apostle great severity of manner and a rude but commanding eloquence, suggested that an assembly of all the reformers should be held; and through his influence a covenant was prepared, by which all the signers bound themselves to renounce forever the Roman communion, and maintain the *pure doctrine of the gospel*, or, rather, what, in their deplorable error, they regarded as this doctrine.

Knox did not, indeed, seek after the glory of a martyr, but prudently returned to Geneva, whence he issued letters, notices, exhortations, and remonstrances. One thing he earnestly inculcated—the distinction between civil and religious obedience. The former was due in civil matters to the civil magistrate; the latter to God alone: whence he drew this important inference, that, in defiance of the legislature and the sovereign, it was their duty to extirpate idolatry wherever they found it, to establish the gospel, and, in defence of their proceedings, to oppose force to force. These principles, which made *the insurrection a holy duty*, found many followers,—for the number of those whom the empire of the laws restrains is always very great,—

and produced the anticipated results. In an infinite number of cities and little towns, the pretended disciples of the gospel expelled priests, threw down monasteries, and delivered images, sacerdotal ornaments, often the churches themselves, to the flames.

The queen mother saw with grief all these disturbances, but durst not punish the authors of them, lest, should a struggle take place between reform and the royal power, the former would not succumb. She wished beside to appear condescending to the lords of the party, since the question of her daughter's marriage was submitted to Parliament, and they had great influence in it. She hoped that, her daughter once received into the royal family of France, the king would send assistance of every kind; she flattered herself with the idea of soon seeing in Scotland a French army, commanded perhaps by her brother, when it would be easy for her to humble the reformers, and restore the Scots to the worship of their fathers. Parliament gratified the queen's desire: not only did it approve of Mary's union with the dauphin, but it also named a deputation to assist at the ceremony. It was in the presence of these deputies that, after having received the nuptial benediction, the

young queen bestowed upon her spouse the crown matrimonial, and saluted him as King-Dauphin.* The King of France, in his turn, styled Mary Dauphiness of France and Queen of *England, Ireland, and Scotland*.

When, after the death of Mary of England, (November, 1558,) her sister Elizabeth ascended the throne, she had received the title of Queen of England and of *France*. This was the more ridiculous, as she inherited her pretended right from Edward III. or Henry V. But Edward was the grandson, by his mother Isabel, of Philip the Fair; and yet the question debated between him and Philip of Valois was adjudged in favor of the latter, through a just or erroneous application of the Salic law.† The second had been

* According to Scottish custom, if the queen married, her spouse was entitled the queen's husband, but he was not king. Nevertheless, if the queen wished him to reign with her, she proclaimed him king in the presence of Parliament, which was called giving the crown matrimonial. It should be remarked, however, that the king could not transfer his crown to children by a second wife, although he continued to reign after the death of the first.

† We have never believed that the Salic law was originally applied to the succession of the throne. This law contained a clause excluding daughters from a share in the *Salic lands*, by which were designated the lands taken from enemies and distributed by the leader among his vassals, (*leudes*.) These grants were made under various conditions, one of which — the most essential — consisted in being obliged to follow the king to war. But this service could not be per-

crowned, it is true, at Paris, but only by a faction ; and the king of a faction is not the king of a state. He had of himself no right to the crown of France ; he had no more in the right of his wife, the daughter of Charles VI. ; and Charles VI., had he not been in a demented state, would not have disinherited his son, and bestowed the crown upon a stranger because that stranger was his son-in-law.

Peace negotiations had been commenced with the ministers of Henry II. by the ministers of the new Queen of England and France. Henry did not complain ; but, through revenge, he honored his daughter-in-law with the pompous title of queen of three kingdoms. Elizabeth was secretly alarmed at this proceeding, and she feared that when a favorable occasion would present itself at a future period, Mary Stuart would dis-

formed by women, and they could not consequently share in the distribution of lands allowed for that purpose ; but it is evident that the crown was not nor could be regarded as a Salic possession. The ancient Britons, who, as well as the inhabitants of the banks of the Rhine—the Franks, for instance—had similar customs and laws, because their origin was common, offer in their history many examples of queens who marched at the head of their armies. When the contest arose between Edward and Philip of Valois, Edward's cause would have prospered, had not Robert of Artois inclined the balance in favor of Philip. It is not less true that the Salic law was often applied to the heritage of the throne, and since this epoch it has been regarded as the law of the land.

pute with her the right to the English crown. Her disquietude was so much the greater as to the communication her ambassador had given to the sovereign pontiff on her advent to the throne. Paul had answered that he could not recognize the hereditary right of an individual who was not the offspring of a legitimate marriage; that the Queen of Scotland was, in his opinion, the nearest heir of Henry VIII.; that, moreover, if Elizabeth would submit to his decision, he would have for her all the consideration compatible with justice.* Elizabeth was not ignorant that all Catholics, especially those in France, were persuaded that the marriage of her mother, Anne Boleyn, was null, and that, as an illegitimate daughter, she had no right to the succession of her father; Mary's title, taken by the express order of the King of France, sufficiently demon-

* Elizabeth had, during her sister's life, abjured Protestantism; she had formally promised her sister, with an oath, that she would maintain the Catholic religion. And when Mary, a few hours before her death, called her to her bedside to hear her profession of faith, she swore and protested that she was a Roman Catholic, and she did it with so much force and apparent sincerity, that the Duke of Feria, ambassador of Philip II., was fully convinced by the hypocritical Elizabeth. "May God," she exclaimed, "cause the earth to open and swallow me up alive, if I am not a good Roman Catholic." She had not yet apostatized when she announced her accession to the pope.

strated that this prince was of the general opinion. Henry even appeared so convinced of the right of his daughter-in-law, that he caused coins to be struck, upon which were the effigies of the two spouses and the coat of arms of France, Scotland, and England. This, perhaps, was the first cause of that deadly hate borne by Elizabeth to Mary — a hatred which the former could sometimes dissemble, but which always devoured her perfidious heart, and could only be glutted in the blood of her unfortunate rival.

After having made peace with France, which the exhausted state of the finances rendered necessary, (February, 1559,) comprising in the treaty Scotland and her young sovereign, and having allowed in the same treaty the insertion of a clause which reserved all the rights and anterior pretensions of the contracting parties, which permitted her to maintain her title of Queen of France, but also allowed Mary to preserve that of Queen of England, Elizabeth — counselled by her minister, Cecil, who, though not a great statesman, was pliant, adroit, cunning, and unscrupulous, and consequently an excellent minister for a queen without religious or political faith — immediately prepared to maintain her usurped rights by every means.

She had at first to oppose the general discontent which the treaty of Cateau Cambresis caused, when the conditions of it became known. Philip II., as ally of England, required the restoration of Calais, which Henry had distinctly refused; then he declared that he would not agree to peace whilst England was satisfied without this condition. On the contrary, he offered to carry on the war for six years more, provided England would engage not to make peace. This proposition embarrassed Cecil; for to renounce Calais was to expose himself to the hatred of the English nation, and to continue the war he had neither disciplined troops nor money in the exchequer; above all, religious quarrels caused the greatest disorder, and before making war abroad it was necessary to establish peace at home. Cecil had simply recommended the ambassadors, without giving any precise instructions, to obtain all they could. It was then agreed by the plenipotentiaries that the King of France should return Calais at the end of eight years, and that, in default of the execution of this clause, he should pay to England the sum of five hundred thousand crowns. This article was evidently only inserted to save the queen's honor and attract the attention of the English nation; for it was

specified in the following article, that if, in the interval of these eight years, any act of hostility took place between the contracting parties, Elizabeth would lose all her rights to the restoration of Calais. The English did not mistake the sense of this clause, which left the King of France master of the execution of the preceding one; this prince, indeed, could not fail to have in that long space of time a plausible pretext for complaining of the infraction of the treaty; and if Elizabeth's ministers did not furnish him with a pretext, could he not create one himself? Cecil imagined a means of calming by flattery the popular resentment: to divert public attention, he summoned Lord Wentworth, ex-governor of Calais, the commander of the fort, and another officer, before a council of war, upon the accusation of treason. The first was acquitted; the two others, after long trials, underwent a *nominal* condemnation, for the sentence of the council was never put in execution; but Cecil had attained his proposed end, and the queen was not really displeased with the treaty, since through it she had been treated with, as Queen of England, by one who was better able to contest the title with her.

To suppress the discontent, the queen and her

minister determined to restore the Protestant religion in England, and secretly favor the progress of reform in Scotland. It is said that Elizabeth hesitated some days, some hours, perhaps an instant; for it is more than probable that she was in reality neither Protestant nor Catholic, and at that time equally indifferent to all mode of worship. Meanwhile, the Catholics, completely deceived by her public professions, did not imagine that she was only a hypocrite, but believed she acted from conviction. Protestants judged her more properly; they thought she feigned sentiments not heartfelt, and although they blamed her for having had recourse to this indelicate stratagem, they hoped that, having the power, she would restore the reformed worship in England. They thought that the moment the pope refused to recognize her on account of her birth, the moment the Catholics, in England and elsewhere, beheld in the Queen of Scotland the Catholic heiress to the throne of England, she would hasten to abjure a religion which repudiated her as illegitimate, to embrace the friendly doctrines which would sustain her upon the throne. So far Elizabeth had left the two parties in uncertainty; for if, on one side, she continued to assist at mass, if she celebrated the obsequies

of her sister according to the form of the Catholic ritual, if she ordered in the same form a funeral service for the repose of the soul of Charles V., on the other hand, she recalled the reformers from exile, she restored those to liberty who were imprisoned on account of their religion; she forbade the Bishop of Carlisle, who was about to say mass in the royal chapel, to elevate the consecrated Host in her presence.

These equivocal acts, these ambiguous measures, deceived only those who did not reflect; but it was soon impossible to continue the illusion, Parliament being occupied with the religious question in such a manner as to relieve all doubt. In spite of the opposition of the Catholic members of Parliament, in spite of the declared resistance of the clergy, the two Houses passed a bill, containing — save some slight amendments — the reënaction of the acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., with the declaration that the Book of Common Prayer be wholly and exclusively used in all churches; that all the spiritual authority of *foreign bishops* should cease in the kingdom; and that the right of punishing or repressing error, schism, heresy, should remain annexed to the crown, with power to delegate this right in whole or in part. Penalties of im-

prisonment, perpetual confinement, and even death, were found lavished in this bill; and unfortunately, they were but too often applied during the reign of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth had taken a decided step, by establishing the sovereignty of reform in England; but to revenge herself fully on Henry II. and the innocent Mary, it was necessary to harass Scotland, and — notwithstanding that peace was concluded, and the treaty sworn upon the gospel to preserve all the conditions of it — to lend a helping hand to the reformers, in order that they might obtain the preëminence. The queen mother, reckoning on the assistance of France, had commenced to act against the reformers, and they had attempted to oppose force to force, according to the doctrine of their patriarch, John Knox: it is doubtful whether they would have succeeded without the assistance of Elizabeth and some favorable circumstances. Reform had gained, it is true, many proselytes among the nobility; but we should not believe with Protestant writers, or rather as these writers state, — for they do not believe it, — that these neophytes formed the *most enlightened part* of the nation, and that they only decided thus because the

reformed religion was a *wise religion, friendly to wise liberty.*

These enlightened men, who adopted a wise religion, were the same nobles, who, like their ancestors, had constantly struggled against the sovereign power; they were these eternal favorers of feudal despotism, who wished to rise above the law, and whom every politic curb, moral and religious, clogged and fatigued; they were these cadets, these illegitimate children, whom favor provided with ecclesiastical benefices, although they were the most ignorant of all men, and who, by engaging in this movement, expected to gain on the one hand what they had lost on the other; they were, in fine, young or even old debauchees, delivered up to all the passions, abandoning, without regret, a severe religion, which preached true reform, for a broad and accommodating religion, which freed them, with a single stroke, from all that was displeasing in the former.

Of the number of these virtuous neophytes was an illegitimate son of James V., the prior of St. Andrew's, and destined for the church, known first as Lord Stuart, and later as the Earl of Murray, who, though loaded with favors by

his sister, the generous Mary, became her persecutor, her denunciator, almost an assassin. This Lord Stuart was one of the most influential leaders of the *Congregation*; for by this name was designated the assembly of the Protestant party. The reformers had thought for a long time that Mary's union with the presumptive heir of the French crown would bring many advantages to the Catholics; and as they consented to this alliance, wishing to compound the matter with their consciences, they engaged by a covenant, prior to the opening of the parliamentary session, "to serve even unto death the cause of their divine Master, [they were known under the name of the *Lord's Congregation*,] to sustain and defend the ministers of the gospel; also to mutually defend each other, abandon the Congregation of Satan — the Catholic church — and pursue with all their strength this same church, its abominable acts, and its idolatrous practices." One can scarcely conceive how *the most enlightened, wisest, and most virtuous men of their time*, as Protestants call them, could have carried their frenzy so far — even supposing that the Catholic Church presented some abuses — as to declare abominable and satanical the religion which had instructed and civilized the

world, which had overturned the altars of paganism, whose morality tends only to the happiness of men ; the religion in which their fathers and ancestors died, in which they themselves were born, and from which they only withdrew because they neglected its precepts. The Earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn were at the head of the Congregationalists.

When the Catholics learned the purport of this covenant, they regarded it as a declaration of war, and an apostate named Walter Milne, a fiery reformed preacher, being found guilty of seditious language, was placed in the pillory. The reformers raged, and the efforts of the regent to pacify them proved ineffectual. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's convoked a national council, by which was published an abstract of doctrine in explanation of the tenets misrepresented by the missionaries. The congregational lords did not yield, and established the new service in Perth. The regent ordered the Protestant preachers to appear at Stirling, to answer this infraction of the law. Knox arrived from Geneva before the day appointed for the trial, and probably hindered those summoned from appearing at Stirling.

On the appointed day, (May 10, 1559,) the

preachers, not being present, were condemned for non-appearance. On receiving the news Knox ascended the pulpit, vomited forth sarcasm and injury, excited the people to revolt, and the docile populace defaced the ornaments of the church, demolished the magnificent edifice of the Charter House, with several other convents, and delivered to the flames whatever was used in Catholic worship.

The enlightened reformers, as they are yet called by Scottish writers of the present day, censured these excesses, "although the people were partly right in committing them;" for the Catholics, who were undoubtedly very ignorant, wrongfully regarded churches—the house of the Lord—as sacred edifices, venerable in themselves, and which should be adorned with all that is most rich and magnificent in nature. They believed that if the powerful on earth adorn their palaces with silver, gold, and precious stones, it was but right that the temple of the living God should have its share of these riches. In the eyes of the reformers, who had received all their education, wisdom, and knowledge from Heaven, churches were only heaps of stone, earth, or wood, which, after the divine service was concluded, had no claim to veneration, so

that probably, according to them, a church after service might become a place of meeting, a public house, a ball room, or perhaps worse. A very just consequence of these strange principles was, that it was necessary to destroy, or at least completely deface, the Catholic churches.

Alas! this miserable doctrine, by which the populace was excited and misled, served only to palliate the real motive of the reformers, who aimed at destroying Catholicism by depriving the Catholics of their ministers. "*Let us pull down the nests,*" said John Knox, the grand master of Scottish reform, "*and the rooks will fly off.*"

The regent, accompanied by the Earl of Arran, the Duke of Chastelherault, and the Earl of Huntley, advanced towards Perth; unfortunately, she had few troops, and could depend but little on Arran, whose versatile humor she knew. Instead of fighting, negotiations commenced; but in all the negotiations the advantage was always on the side of the Congregationalists. Their successes were even so rapid and decisive that in a few days many cities, the capital included, were entered by the insurgents. Meanwhile Henry sent to the queen a veteran corps of French troops; the congregational forces dispersed gradually; roy-

alist lords joined the royal standard, and Mary reëntered Edinburgh. It was then that the English ministry, or rather Cecil, who directed it, judged the moment opportune to execute the plan he had formed to sustain the revolt of the reformers. If the reformers triumphed over the royal authority, Elizabeth could easily compel the Queen of Scotland to renounce her pretensions; the French influence in the country would be abolished, reform would be established throughout the kingdom, and the crown would most probably pass to that of the heir of the Protestant branch of the house of Stuart.* The schemes of Cecil did not end here. He hoped that the new sovereign would marry Elizabeth, by which both kingdoms would be united under one crown. It appeared even that this plan of Cecil had been communicated to the Scottish reformers and to the congregational lords, and that it had been fully adopted.

* The Earl of Arran, Duke of Chastelherault, of the house of Hamilton, was the nearest legitimate heir of James V. Lord James Stuart was his illegitimate son, but Cecil preferred Arran : nevertheless, he would have preferred Lord James, had not Arran's weakness, inconstancy, and ambition been well known. It appeared, besides, that Arran desired to be crowned by revolt, since Henry, a very short time before his death, had ordered him to be arrested and held for trial.

Elizabeth herself, in her instructions to Lord Shrewsbury, says expressly that he projected wresting the crown from Mary, but that she was opposed to it.

Cecil's plan had been approved of by the Congregation, but that was not sufficient; promises of assistance could not be opposed to the real aid which the regent had received and was still expecting from France, whence considerable armaments covered the whole coast. Henry, indeed, died prematurely, (July, 1559,) of a wound received at a tournament; but the reformers gained nothing by his death; Mary's husband ascended the throne, and the princes of Lorraine commanded the French troops in the king's name. Knox urged Cecil, representing that if the reformers did not receive powerful assistance from Elizabeth, they would be compelled to make peace with the queen at all hazard. Cecil, becoming alarmed, communicated Knox's letters to his mistress, whom, to his great surprise, he found very undecided. Elizabeth cordially hated Knox. The latter had, at Frankfort as well as at Geneva, boldly declared himself against the Anglican liturgy, and moreover he had maintained that women were incapable of governing. Less was needed to excite against him the animosity of

this princess, who was no less devoted to the liturgy of her father than she was confident of her own capacity to wear the crown. Besides, she deemed it unworthy of a crowned head to foment rebellion among the subjects of a neighboring and friendly sovereign; and she respected the oaths which she had so recently taken to preserve peace with the Queen of Scotland, and to refuse an asylum to Scottish rebels, much less afford them assistance.

The sophist Cecil easily overcame the scruples of his mistress. The Queen of England had, he maintained, a better right to the superiority over Scotland, than Mary Stuart had to the possession of the Scottish crown. That granted, he did not urge her to interfere between subjects and their natural prince, but between the mesne lords and their vassals. It was the duty of a sovereign to protect the latter against the tyranny of the former. And as these arguments made not a strong enough impression upon the queen's mind, Cecil appealed to her apprehensions and jealousy. He depicted the King and Queen of France and Scotland as declared enemies, who looked on her as illegitimate, and who would never allow her a moment of repose, so long as they retained a footing in Scotland.

This last and all-powerful consideration extorted a reluctant consent from the queen; Cecil did the rest.

To deceive the public, three commissioners were appointed to reëstablish order on the frontiers. The Earl of Northumberland, a Catholic and Jacobite, was named, together with Sir James Sadler and Sir James Croft; but these latter alone were admitted into the secret. They were specially authorized to urge the Scottish reformers to the resumption of hostilities; to supply them with money; to promise them every kind of aid which could be furnished without a manifest breach of the peace; and to induce them, if it was possible, to depose Mary, and transfer the crown to the house of Hamilton. The Duke of Chastelherault, indeed, the head of that house, had hitherto been faithful to the cause of his sovereign; but his weakness, inconstancy, and ambition were well known: there could be no doubt that his allegiance would yield to the temptation of a crown for his descendants; and with that view it was resolved to hasten the return to Scotland of his eldest son, now called the Earl of Arran, and who served in Paris as colonel of the Scottish guards. Warned by the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who did

not hold at that time a very honorable mission, Arran secretly escaped to Geneva, from whence he wrote a letter to Elizabeth, couched in the most ardent language. Elizabeth appeared at first highly displeased. "It seemeth," she says, "very strange that the Earl of Arran maketh mention in his letters that he hath cause to thank us for the offers made to hym by us. We be in doubt what to thynk, and do much mislyke that any such occasion should be gyven by any manner of message done to hym." It appears that Cecil had not confided to Elizabeth his ulterior projects, and that the offer to which Arran referred was the hand of Elizabeth herself, in the event of success in the war against the regent. Be that as it may, the earl came from Geneva to London *incognito*; was admitted to a secret interview with Elizabeth, and to several conferences with Cecil; and then continued his journey to Scotland, until, with the assistance of Sadler and Croft, he reached his father's castle of Hamilton.

Meanwhile the commissioners had not remained inactive, and the congregational lords only demanded *to be convinced* that their cause was just. Sadler and Croft undertook this easy task. Was not the cause in effect eminently

Christian and patriotic which had for its object *the extirpation of idolatry, and the liberation of the country from all foreign sway?* These were, undoubtedly, two very meritorious things in the eyes of the Congregationalists, and they were altogether disposed to procure the double glory of destroying Catholic worship and depriving their queen of the throne. The English commissioners urged the folly of postponing the attempt until the regent should have acquired a decided superiority by the aid of the Duke of Guise. At the same time, the report which they artfully circulated, that the French cabinet had determined to annex Scotland as a province to France, made a deep impression on the public mind; a promise of neutrality was obtained from the Duke of Chastelherault, and several Catholic lords engaged to draw their swords in defence of the liberties of their country.

The insurgents desired to demonstrate by arguments, more or less captious, that they were right in taking up arms against the lawful authority. Every rebel wishes to have a motive when he revolts; he is only wrong when he yields. The Scottish reformers contended, in justification of their criminal aggression, that the regent had committed two breaches of the

capitulation of Edinburgh: 1. By having allowed mass to be celebrated in Holyrood Chapel; 2. By having received reënforcements from France. Arran, whose arrival had been hitherto concealed, suddenly appeared before the Congregationalists; and, as the news of his being the destined husband of Elizabeth had gained circulation, he was received with extraordinary honors. Two thousand pounds sterling, distributed seasonably, rendered the lords very complaisant.

The regent, however, appeared ready to face the storm. She offered peace, on the basis of real liberty of conscience; but at the same time she informed them that she would defend her daughter's rights by every means in her power. Her offers were rejected: Chastelherault openly joined the Congregation; and the insurgents, being briskly urged by the English commissioners, as well as the enthusiastic Knox, moved in considerable force towards Edinburgh. The regent had fortified the city and port of Leith, whither she retired with her defenders; so that the rebels entered the capital without opposition, where two parties were formed, the one under the presidency of Chastelherault, for the despatch of political business, the other under that of Knox, for the regulation of spiritual concerns.

The first party pronounced it expedient, the second lawful, to take from the regent the exercise of her authority : her deprivation was proclaimed by sound of trumpet ; and she herself, as well as her aiders and abettors, were declared enemies to the country. The regent was still supported by the Earl of Huntley, lord chancellor, the earls marischal and Bothwell, and most of the bishops. Her force amounted to between two and three thousand Scottish and French veterans, whose superior discipline and experience rendered them more than a match for the bravery and enthusiasm of the ten thousand congregational soldiers. In an attack on the city of Leith, the latter were repulsed with some loss.

Sadler and Croft, the two vile agents, — they cannot be called commissioners, — exclaimed, “ Good ! good ! Blood has flown, and it will yet flow for a long time.” But in Knox and Cecil it created a well-founded doubt of the ultimate result. Knox, in the most urgent terms, demanded the aid of two thousand English troops ; and, anticipating the objection which might be drawn from the existence of peace between the two crowns, he suggested that they should serve as volunteers, in apparent opposition to the will of their sovereign, and under a sentence of out-

lawry and treason. Cecil did not appear to be a man who would recoil from any proposition, no matter how perfidious it was; he recoiled, however, before that of Knox, not daring to carry duplicity to such an extent, or rather fearing that the queen would oppose this measure, and that his favor would suffer by it. He knew that his mistress, *if to-day she was more than man, would to-morrow be less than woman.**

In truth, if Elizabeth was jealous of the Queen of Scotland, she was also jealous of her own reputation; willing to injure her rival by every means in her power, but unwilling to be considered as the abettor of insurrection and treason. She had hitherto been induced to approve of the plans of her disloyal minister; but it had required all his art, all the intrigues of his confidential friends, to obtain her consent. Elizabeth, besides, knew well that to favor the revolt of subjects against their sovereign is not a becoming part for another sovereign. Might not the Queen of England, whose legitimacy was contested, teach the English, by placing the example of the Scots before them, how a mutinous people might take advantage of their strength, overturn the

* An expression made use of by Cecil himself to characterize Elizabeth.

throne, elevate a second upon the wreck of the first, and—to arrive at this point—pass through all the phases of disorder, immorality, and anarchy?

One of Cecil's most useful auxiliaries was Throckmorton, the ambassador to France; who, by his conduct, which was a continual violation of the law of nations, was unworthy of this title. He transmitted reports often apocryphal, almost always exaggerated, and by suggesting as from himself to Cecil that advice which Cecil durst not openly tender to the queen, succeeded in confirming her jealousy, and keeping alive her apprehensions. He requested permission to return home, ostensibly on account of his wife's illness, in reality to inform the queen "that whensoever the French should make an end with Scotland, they would begin with England." Elizabeth, becoming alarmed, authorized Cecil to aid the Congregationalists with advice and money; but bad news arrived from Scotland. The insurgents had attacked the garrison of Leith, and been repulsed. They were even so frightened that, although the royalists had returned to Leith, they disbanded and fled; nor did they slacken their speed until they had reached Stirling, a distance of thirty miles. There Knox reproached

them so bitterly with their cowardice that they burned with shame for having fled. Their courage especially revived when they received promises of money to pay, and of officers to discipline, their forces; and were assured that a fleet should be equipped to intercept all communication between Leith and France.

In return for these promises, Cecil required that the insurgents should send to London an accredited agent with a petition for support, that the queen might afterwards have some instrument to produce in justification of her conduct. The insurgents deputed Maitland, a statesman of great abilities, who had been the regent's secretary, but, lately deserting to the Congregation-
alists, had betrayed to them the secrets of his late mistress. He presented to Elizabeth a petition, which had been previously drawn up by Cecil and approved by herself, which Sadler showed to Maitland as his own composition, and in which the Scots were made to speak so as to deceive foreign diplomacy and conceal the share England had taken in these manœuvres. This petition was drawn up with so much art, that Maitland acknowledged it was preferable to that which he had brought with him.

De Noailles, the French ambassador, on learn-

ing that Maitland was seen to enter Throckmorton's lodgings, demanded an explanation of the warlike preparations on the Thames and in the northern counties. The perfidious Elizabeth personally assured him of her determination to maintain the peace of Cateau Cambresis; and as Noailles did not appear fully convinced, she added, "May the malediction of Heaven fall upon the head of the one who first violates the treaty!" Elizabeth did not believe herself bound more by this terrible imprecation than if she had sworn by the Styx or the three Parcæ. Noailles, however, was not deceived; he immediately denounced her hostile intention to the regent and the King of France.

The Congregationalists, encouraged by the assurances of Cecil, had called a general meeting at Stirling; but before their arrival, a detachment from the garrison of Leith suddenly seized the place. From Stirling the royalists went in pursuit of the Earl of Arran and Lord James. Arrived at the promontory of Kingraig, a fleet was perceived sailing towards the coast, and soon after the English colors were displayed. The guns of the fleet being turned upon the royalists, they immediately began to retrace their steps; and it is a proof of their superior discipline, that, during a

retreat of six days through a hostile country, they suffered but inconsiderable loss.

Elizabeth had the impudence, not to deny this act of hostility, but to contend that the fleet's only mission was to supply Berwick with provisions, that stress of weather had driven the vessels into the Frith, and that the jealousy or the mistake of the French commanders who fired on the English from the batteries at Leith, Brunt Island, and Inchkeith, had compelled the admiral to make reprisals in his own defence. This specious tale, though officially attested, was not even believed in England. Noailles openly complained of the notorious falsity of the allegations contained in the note sent to him, and insisted that Admiral Winter should be brought before a commission of inquiry. The commission was appointed, and the affair smothered over, without France finding cause to complain. Cecil knew well that this court would have enough of difficulty to extricate itself, even in France, from the embarrassments which he created.

Soon after the death of Henry II., Elizabeth's minister undertook to excite in that country dissensions similar to those which he had fomented in Scotland, by arming the princes of the blood and the Calvinists against their new monarch.

The traitor Throckmorton, who deserved a halter, had an interview with Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre and brother of the Prince of Condé. He stated, in general terms, the esteem which Elizabeth had for him, and the danger which the reformed religion would experience under the administration of the house of Guise; and he allowed him to foresee, as possible, his being put in possession of the kingdom of Navarre. Antoine, who was an undecided prince, and poorly qualified to act as a party leader, answered evasively. The result of Throckmorton's intrigues was the formation of an association between the King of Navarre, Condé, Admiral Coligni, Dandelot, and the Cardinal of Chastillon, the three latter nephews of Constable Montmorency.

But when Throckmorton departed for London, as we have seen, he was followed by the miserable La Renaudie, the apparent head of the conspiracy formed against the Duke of Guise. This adventurer did not hesitate to expose his life in a career, where, in case of failure, the halter would be his reward, in case of success a vile salary, the only reward worthy of conspirators, assassins, and traitors. Will it be believed that Elizabeth did not disdain seeing La Renaudie,

informing him of her wishes for the success of the enterprise, and promising him assistance ? *

What, then, was the enterprise in which Elizabeth so nobly joined ? Its object was to attack the court suddenly, seize the king and queen, — Mary Stuart was Elizabeth's coveted prey, — and elevate the Prince of Condé to the throne, after having assassinated the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise. At the same time the Queen of England ordered the Duke of Norfolk — whom she had formerly charged with the derisive mission of inquiring into the aggression of Admiral Winter — to conclude a treaty with the Congregation. The French ambassador opposed it with all his power ; he even offered to withdraw from Scotland the greater part of the French forces, and to refer the matters in dispute, between the reformers and their sovereign to the arbitration of Elizabeth herself. Elizabeth was careful not to accept the arbitration, the result of which would have been opposed to her ulterior projects, and the treaty was concluded by Norfolk. It was stipulated that an

* This La Renaudie was a native of the province of Perigord ; he had been pursued for the commission of mayhem, and had for a long time sought an asylum without the kingdom. He returned to be a conspirator.

English army should remain in Scotland until the French were expelled from that kingdom, and that the Scots should never consent to the union of their crown with that of France, should aid Elizabeth with four thousand men in case of invasion, and should give her hostages for their fidelity to these engagements.

In the mean time the English minister did not lose sight of France, and he exerted himself the more to assist the reformers to overturn the house of Guise, because he feared that the Guise, if triumphant, would send an army into Scotland ; for the cardinal and duke had been proclaimed sole ministers by Francis II., and there was every reason to believe that they would not suffer the kingdom of their niece to devolve to her jealous rival. The enterprise was difficult, for, besides the qualities which please the multitude, the Guise possessed those which subdue rebels — courage and talents. The duke, modest, generous, passionate for glory, discreet, provident, the bravest soldier, the most skilful general, excelled all his contemporaries by as much as merit and science excel blind routine. The cardinal, endowed with great penetration, was very learned in theology, politics, administrative and financial affairs : not less eloquent than Knox, his discourse

was more attractive, and his style more engaging. In fine, it would have been difficult to make a better choice of a minister and of a general, equally worthy of the royal confidence.

The Guise appeared like firm Colossi, relied on, as they were, by the clergy, nobility, and people; the first through zeal for religion, the existence of which was threatened by impious innovators; the second because, ruined by the wars of the preceding reigns, they needed the reestablishment of their fortunes; the third because they only desired to be freed from the subsidies which would naturally be maintained, if not increased, so long as the war would last. The disturbers were, nevertheless, not discouraged, but secretly agitated all classes, especially seeking for enemies of the throne. The cardinal, having been informed of the plans of the conspirators, had succeeded in removing the King of Navarre by proposing to him to conduct the Princess Elizabeth of France to Spain, who was promised by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis to Philip II., and not to his son Don Carlos, as some are pleased to repeat, in order to load the memory of Philip with a new outrage; but the Prince of Condé and the nephews of Montmorency still remained; moreover, the reformers

had a numerous party in Parliament, and they had assassins in their pay besides. Parliament, hurried away by the factious eloquence of some of its members, and desirous of maintaining their usurped claims to the administration of the kingdom, served the cause of reform by their remonstrances, without being aware of it; but the reformers wished to employ more expeditious means.

They had employed Captain Mazères, a brave man, but a fanatic, to assassinate the Duke of Guise. His proceedings appearing suspicious, he was arrested and brought before the duke, who, beholding him armed with a very long sword, expressed great surprise that a man who had given proof in war of valor and address, should have chosen a sword the length of which rendered it very troublesome to handle. "My lord," said the captain to him, "I have already experienced this, and that more than once; but to speak candidly, when I consider your valor and enraged presence, I have not the courage to attack you close at hand, and I therefore resolved to deal with you at a distance; so that if, instead of this sword, I could have borne a pike, I would have done so, so terrible and formidable is your presence to me." This singular harangue

did not displease the Duke of Guise, who, naturally magnanimous, pardoned the captain.* The attempt of Parliament against the Guise was not so serious, and was unravelled in a manner amusing enough. This respectable body had determined to address to the king humble remonstrances against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine; and to give more weight to these remonstrances, they decided that the entire Par-

* It was the destiny of Guise to perish by the hand of an assassin. It is known that he was killed on the 18th of February, 1563, whilst besieging Orleans, by the Calvinist Poltrot de Méré. During the preceding year, a noble *Angevin* had been arrested, who intended to assassinate him, whilst at the siege of Rouen. The queen mother, Catharine de' Medici, being informed of the design of this man, secretly informed the duke of it. He caused him to be brought in his presence, and reproached him with his criminal intention, demanding of him why he wished his life. The *Angevin*, confounded, cast himself at the feet of the Prince of Lorraine, and implored his mercy; he confessed that he had been persuaded that, by killing him, he would have delivered his religion of its most dangerous enemy. "Well!" answered Guise, "compare my religion with yours. Yours counsels you to kill me without hearing me, whilst mine commands me to pardon you."

These are the same sentiments which we find paraphrased in those beautiful verses of *Alzire*, which Guzman addresses to his murderer, Zamore: —

"Des dieux que nous servons connais la différence :

Les tiens t'ont commandé le meurtre et la vengeance ;

Et le mien, quand ton bras vient de m'assassiner,

M'ordonne de te plaindre et de te pardonner."

liament, with the president at their head, should present them in person to their sovereign. Francis, who was, as is known, a pupil of the famous Amyot, at that time Abbot of Bellozane, and afterwards Bishop of Auxerre, was very fond of Latin poetry, and Mary Stuart partook of this taste. At the moment when Parliament was announced, the two young consorts were reading together Virgil's *Bucolics*. The cardinal, who had previously learned the hour and object of this visit, and who wished to be present to protect his interest, took care to be in the king's apartment. He, casting his eyes towards the balcony, perceived the long, black robes of the magistrates. "My uncle," exclaimed he, addressing the cardinal, "what is all that crowd there for?" "What is it?" replied the cardinal; "*Pecus omne magistris*;" a double allusion to a passage in the *Bucolics* which the king had before him, and to the name of the first president, *Le Maistre*. "Ah, well! what is he doing with all his flock?" then said the queen, continuing the allusion. "Really, madam," replied the cardinal, "he comes to prove to the king that I and my brother also are but brutes." How these remonstrances were received remains yet to be seen: the king was pleased to reply that he was

very well satisfied with the services of his two uncles.

In the interim, the 15th of March was appointed for the execution of the conspiracy. The court being at Blois, and the Guise having accompanied the king thither, the rendezvous of the conspirators was named at the same place. They hoped to surprise the Guise, who appeared to suspect nothing; nevertheless, they had noticed something extraordinary, and had vague fears of a conspiracy; they removed the court from Blois to Amboise, where there was a castle which could be suddenly protected. A friend of La Renaudie, to whom he had confided the plot, becoming alarmed at the evils which the success of the conspiracy would cause to France, happily believed that he was conscientiously bound to inform the two brothers of it. Linières, one of the conspirators mentioned by the informer, had several brothers in the service of the queen mother; a large reward engaged him to betray his friends. Thus forewarned, the ministers prepared their measures. The cardinal desired the assistance of troops; but the duke, although conceding that the arrival of troops would render the conspiracy abortive, feared that the conspirators would not be surprised: he wished, on the

contrary, that they should be taken in the perpetration of the crime.

La Renaudie, on learning that the king had repaired to Amboise, postponed the execution of the project from the 15th to the 16th. He was ignorant that the Princes of Lorraine, having been informed of his plan, had taken decisive precautions; he was killed before his arrival at Amboise, and his body suspended on a gibbet. All those who were seized — and the number was great — underwent the same punishment. The Chancellor Olivier, who was strongly suspected of favoring reform, obtained an amnesty from the king for all the rebels who had not been executed; but such was the blind obstinacy of these virtuous reformers, who, to serve their religion, became assassins, that some of them endeavored to penetrate by night into the city and seize the castle. Guise, becoming furious, revoked the amnesty, and many of the reformers perished. The Prince of Condé was detained a prisoner, not under a direct accusation, but upon strong suspicion. Condé complained and demanded a trial, upon which the king granted him an audience before the whole court. He pleaded his own cause with much confidence, and concluded by formally defying any one to

accuse him of having dared to excite the French to revolt against their king. It was, however, certain that he was in Amboise with a great number of his partisans, and that if La Renaudie's attack had succeeded, he would have headed the conspirators. But this fact, which public opinion regarded as proved, had not been juridically established. Thus the matter rested.

When Elizabeth learned the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise, she began to waver; but she was assured that a civil war would inevitably follow, and that it would be both honorable and profitable for her to interfere. Consequently she permitted the publication of a most extraordinary state paper, entitled *A Declaration of Peace*, but intended as a justification of war. "She was," she said, "the ally and friend of the King and Queen of France, but the enemy of their ministers; she took up arms to oppose their ambitious ends, and she would not lay them down so long as a French soldier remained in Scotland." An English army, under Lord Gray, crossed the frontier, and having joined the insurgents, besieged Leith; but, on one side, the vigorous defence of the besieged retarded the operation of the besiegers; on the other hand, they

were restrained by the contradictory orders which the queen continually sent them.

Elizabeth was hurried away almost in spite of herself. When an evil course is pursued, each step is a fault, and from fault to fault a point is reached which affrights one at his position. At first she only consented to supply the insurgents with money; afterwards her fleet appeared in the Frith; her pride so far revolted from treating with rebels; soon these rebels, the subjects of another sovereign, obtained from her a formal treaty. Subsequently, she made protestations to the Queen of Scotland of her fidelity to her engagements, and she received, she encouraged him who repaired to Scotland to dethrone his sovereign; she gave, through her ambassador at Paris, the most positive assurance that peace would be maintained, and this unworthy ambassador fomented the revolt, and protected the rebels; finally, in her last proclamation she styled herself the friend of the King and Queen of France, and her army besieged Leith — the only place remaining to the Queen of Scotland — under pretence of expelling thence the French, who were the only defenders of this queen. It is not, then, astonishing, that the operations of the siege were paralyzed by the irresolute and contradictory

humors of the queen. Thus she commanded her general to prefer negotiation to arms; rejected a new project of accommodation; permitted the French envoy to treat with the Scottish lords; ordered the siege to be vigorously carried on; and then reproached her ministers with having extorted her consent to what, she feared, must prove a miserable failure. Her conjectures were partly verified. Lord Gray made a general assault, in which he was energetically repulsed, with the loss of one thousand men. (1560.)

Elizabeth almost rejoiced at a result which she had foreseen, and after a stormy debate with Cecil, she insisted that he should proceed to Scotland, and *extinguish by negotiation the flame which he had enkindled*. Cecil submitted with an evil grace, and a preliminary treaty was signed at Berwick, between the French envoys and himself, on the 14th of June, 1560, at the moment when the news was received of the death of the regent, a princess of distinguished talents and moderation, who had sacrificed her health of body and peace of mind in support of her daughter's interests. During her indisposition, she was received within the Castle of Edinburgh, through the humanity of Lord Erskine, who held that fortress by a commission from the three estates, and

professed to observe the most scrupulous neutrality during the contest. From her death bed, Mary sent for the chiefs of the two opposite parties, recommended to their care the weal of the kingdom and the rights of the sovereign, and saluting each of the lords, and giving her hand to the commoners, she publicly forgave every injury which she had received, and asked forgiveness of those whom she had offended. She expired, regretted by the Catholics and royalists, and esteemed by her very opponents. Knox alone endeavored to slander her memory; but his poisonous venom recoiled upon himself.

CHAPTER IV.

DEATH OF FRANCIS II. — MARY'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND.

THE French commissioners, Randan and Montluc, had been empowered to grant an amnesty to the insurgents, provided they would return to their duty. The offer was accepted; but at the same time demands were made, which, whilst allowing a nominal supremacy to the sovereign, tended to transfer the exercise of the royal authority to the lords of the Congregation.

At first the commissioners defended with spirit the rights of the crown; but necessity compelled them to submit to more than their powers would justify: and it was ultimately agreed that, after the removal of the French troops, a convention of the three estates should be held; that out of the twenty-four persons named by the convention, the queen should select seven, the estates five, to be intrusted with the government of the realm. To these conditions was appended a demand by the Congregation, that the new worship be the established faith. But on this point the commissioners refused to yield, and Cecil himself approved of their refusal.

A second treaty between the French and English commissioners was at length concluded. Francis and Mary recognized the rights of Elizabeth to the crown of England; and it was stipulated that, as the French king and queen had made several concessions to their Scottish subjects, at the petition of the English queen, so they should ratify those concessions whenever the Scots themselves had fulfilled the conditions on which they had been granted. Elizabeth was eager to ratify a treaty, the sixth clause of which was a formal recognition of her claims; but her eagerness was met with equal reluctance on the

part of Francis and Mary, who based their refusal on the want of authority in their commissioners, and the subsequent misconduct of their Scottish subjects. The lords of the Congregation had called a convention of the estates without the royal commission; had abolished throughout the realm the worship hitherto established by law; and had refused compensation to the clergy, who had suffered losses during the late insurrection*—three points in direct contradiction to the treaty of Edinburgh. They had even sent an embassy to Elizabeth, as if they possessed the

* The reformers, who had the majority in the convention, condemned the Catholic worship and all its accessories, and they included the new principles in a profession of faith digested by Knox and his friends. Scottish reform differed essentially from Anglicanism, as by the latter the reigning sovereign is constituted sovereign pontiff, the visible head of the church; the former neither allows the king nor his officers to interfere in religious affairs, which are regulated by a general assembly, composed of members of the church itself. No more was hierarchy recognized; the priest has no superior in the priesthood, God being the only superior. As the ecclesiastical reformers exhibited much indifference for terrestrial honors and dignities, the convention judged that gross revenues would be useless to them. It confined them to an annual salary, and the lords, who had for a long time coveted the property of the clergy, appropriated to themselves all their effects without the slightest scruple. In vain did Knox and his associates propose founding with the wealth of the Catholic clergy a national church, hospitals, public schools, and universities. The lords had not seized to restore, and they ingeniously eluded legislating upon Knox's proposition.

sovereign authority; and what perhaps proved more offensive to the pride of the French cabinet, that embassy consisted of peers, whilst only a single knight had been deputed to their own sovereign. When Throckmorton required that Francis and Mary should ratify the treaty, they replied that the Scots had not fulfilled any of the conditions of the treaty; that they had acted as if they formed a republic independent of the sovereign; that Elizabeth continued to support them in their disobedience; and that she had already broken the ancient treaty, by admitting into her kingdom, and into her presence, the deputies of the Congregation, without the previous consent of their sovereign to this odious proceeding.

It is more than probable that after this response, which thwarted Elizabeth the more as her conduct had caused her to be reproached by the King of Spain,* that if Francis had lived the war would have been renewed, and that, pre-

* The King of Spain, Philip II., had formally represented to Elizabeth the injury she had done to her reputation, and even to the cause of sovereigns, by sustaining and aiding the rebel subjects of another prince. Many members of the council had approved of these observations, and opposed Cecil, whom they accused of inveigling the queen into a wrong course. Arundel, Parry, and others belonged to this party, which was designated by the name of *Philippians*.

dominated over as he was by Mary, he would have led to Scotland an army sufficient to subdue the rebels, and cause Elizabeth to tremble anew upon her throne. Unfortunately for Mary, and undoubtedly also for Scotland, which now bears the yoke of England, her ancient and implacable rival, Francis, a weak and sickly prince, died on the 6th of December, 1560, of an imposthume in the ear. It is said that this malady was of a nature to cause death; but it is very doubtful whether it would have proved mortal so soon when no grievous symptom had yet portended such a result. The report was circulated that Ambrose Paré, his surgeon, had poisoned the wound, in order to save the Prince of Condé, the avowed leader of the Calvinist party. This prince, having been accused of high treason, had been brought before a select committee of the French Parliament, and condemned to death. In vain had his pardon been solicited; in vain had Eleanor de Reye, his wife, cast herself at the king's feet; he had resisted the prayers and tears of the weeping princess. "Your husband," said he to her, "wished to kill me, in order to possess my crown." The Guise appeared no less inflexible. The 10th of December was the day appointed for the execution, and the king died

four days before. This death, which occurred so opportunely, gave rise to suspicions which have never been resolved. Ambrose Paré was a Calvinist, and favored Montmorency: he is accused of having wished to serve the interests of his party; but Protestant writers represent Paré as a man incapable of having conceived the thought of such a crime. Certain it is, that no investigation was held, although the rumor of poison was generally circulated.

Catharine de' Medici had little love for Francis, all her affection being concentrated upon the Duke of Anjou, her younger son; she hated Mary especially, because, jealous of excess of power, she had no influence in administrative affairs; whilst Francis lived, her situation could not change, since Francis obeyed Mary, who, in turn, obeyed her uncles: the death of her son caused her, then, few regrets as a mother; it served her ambition as a queen; for, rid of her daughter-in-law, whose interest, youth, and beauty she envied, reckoning on the assistance of a powerful party, formed by all discontented persons, Calvinists or Catholics, she would reign in the name of the ten-year-old king. She at first had had some doubts, but she was fully reassured by Chancellor de L'Hôpital. "The estates,"

said he to her, "are assembled, and the parties present: declared enemies of each other, they will become reconciled that the regency may be offered to you — the Guise, lest the power pass to the house of Condé; the Condé, that the Guise may not obtain it. Then, instead of being the instrument of either party, you will rule over them, and by opposing them to each other, will render them harmless."

The predictions of L'Hôpital were fully verified, success even surpassing Catharine's hopes; for the moment Francis expired, the two parties spontaneously regarded her as the lawful regent, applying to her to interest her in their pretensions; the Guise urging her to order the execution, the King of Navarre asking the life of his brother, so that she was in fact the regent without the intervention of the estates; but she took care not to sacrifice Condé to the resentment of the Guise. In her system of balancing the power of the parties, she needed a man whom she might oppose to the Princes of Lorraine, and the feeble King of Navarre was not equal to the task. The Prince of Condé was set at liberty; the King of Navarre was appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom; the Guise preserved their credit at court and in the kingdom: Catharine ruled over all.

Catharine had great accomplishments and great faults. Beautiful, of tall stature, of a prepossessing yet majestic exterior, always surrounded by a numerous train of ladies of the best families in the kingdom, amusing them and herself by fêtes, dances, concerts, hunting or fishing parties, a lover and protector of the arts, affable towards all, she had succeeded — notwithstanding the estrangement of Henry II. from her — by force of perseverance and address in rendering herself the object of universal homage; but it is supposed that all these amiable qualities, which rendered her so attractive, were the fruit of profound dissimulation, rather than of her natural disposition. The only person with whom she could or would not dissemble was her daughter-in-law. Catharine had the weakness of the Queen of England; she desired to be considered beautiful. She suffered much from contrast with young persons of remarkable beauty; but it is pretended that she made them serve her ends, by captivating by their means lords whom she wished to entice. Moreover, Catharine did not fear on their part any usurpation of power; whereas it would be easy for a young queen whom she must acknowledge beautiful, despite her jealousy, to deprive her, by her charms, enhanced

by regal éclat, and the enchantment of power, of all the hearts she might have wished to attach to herself. In reality, during her husband's life, Catharine had no determined system; during the reign of her eldest son, she constantly found the Guise in the career she would pursue. Thus she appeared only inconsistent and heedless, always allowing herself to be controlled by events. Sometimes she favored the reformers, receiving and reading their writings; sometimes, becoming reconciled to the Guise, she revealed the projects of the Calvinists to them. When the Guise believed that they had no need of her assistance, they scorned her; then she returned to the Calvinists, whose doctrines, moreover, frightened her little; for after the assassination of Guise, when the princes' party became all-powerful, as they spoke to her of the dangers which religion encountered, she answered with an inconceivable and scandalous levity, "Well, gentlemen, we will pray to God in French!"

The death of Francis II., who left no children, had burst the links which united France to Scotland, and with it vanished the principal motive which Cecil had alleged to justify his proceedings. Mary, who did not suspect the duplicity of the English minister, believed that she might

assume without molestation the government of her native kingdom ; but Cecil's intention was to create so many obstacles that she could not return to Scotland, at least for a long time. If she married again, which was very likely, as she was but eighteen years of age, her new husband would surely revive her rights to the throne of England. Admiral Winter continued to cruise in the Frith ; and Randolph, Elizabeth's agent, was instructed to remind the lords of the Congregation of their obligations to Elizabeth ; to advise the conclusion of a perpetual league with England during the absence of Queen Mary ; and to suggest a form of association, which should have for its chief object to compel her to marry one of her own subjects.

Elizabeth had no reason to complain of the backwardness of the Scots. Chastelherault, Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn tendered her their services ; the disloyal Maitland even promised to betray to Cecil the plans and motions of Mary and her friends ; and Lord James, returning through England from France, — whither he had been to assure his sister of his fraternal attachment, — advised Elizabeth to intercept her on the sea and make her a prisoner. In fact, the Scots, undoubtedly becoming better as they became

reformed, had at this time singular ideas of honor and fidelity to their engagements. It might be said that they had a very correct idea of personal interest, which at all times sacrifices, unscrupulously, probity, duty, and affection.

Mary, no longer receiving at Paris the respect and attention which had been lavished on her hitherto, and which became more necessary since the early death of her spouse, had departed for Lorraine, to spend the winter there. In her grief, which was nowise affected, as some writers have said, whose pens are always dipped in gall, Mary sought to beguile her sorrow by expressing it in Latin verse.* She composed elegies in honor of her husband.† Elizabeth's

* It has been stated in writings unworthy of confidence—indigested collections of false traditions, satires, and calumnies—that Mary had culpable intrigues at the court of France. They are base forgeries, which Brantôme himself, that cynical slanderer of all the women of his time, has not dared to affirm.

† Ah, why should she not have regretted Francis? If not through conjugal love, at least through her own interest. She lost a husband who had for her an absolute deference, and which, with the sway she had over him, she would have constantly maintained; she lost the most beautiful crown of Europe at an age when vain enjoyments are most felt; she irrevocably lost the means of causing her positive rights to the English crown to be established by arms; she lost a country where she had been educated, the society of enlightened men, the advantage of climate, for a country which repelled her, and where, under a sky always cold and cloudy, the men were like half

agents followed her even to her retreat, to demand the ratification of the treaty, the work of Cecil. To the Earl of Bedford, Mewtas, and Throckmorton she always made the same reply — that since the death of Francis, her uncles had refused to give her advice, that they might not be said to interfere with the concerns of Scotland; that on a subject which so deeply affected the rights of her crown and the interests of the Scottish people, she neither desired nor could she be expected to answer without the advice of her council; but that, on her return to her dominions, she would consult the estates, and do whatever she should judge proper.*

Mary's refusal irritated Elizabeth, and confirmed her in the suspicions which had been previously suggested by Cecil and his friends; and when M. D'Oyselles requested permission for Mary to pass through England to Scotland,

savages. These were, it seems, sufficient reasons for Mary to have no need of pretence when she showed grief and tears.

* Of Mary's conduct after her husband's death, we have the notable testimony of Throckmorton, the English ambassador in Paris: "Since the death of the king, the Queen of Scotland carries herself so honorably, wisely, and discreetly, that methinks it were to be wished by all wise men and her majesty's good subjects, that the one of these two queens of the Isle of Britain were transformed into the shape of a man, to make so happy a marriage, that there might thereby be a unity of the whole isle."

(1561,) she refused him in so vehement a tone, and with such reproachful expressions, as to betray the exacerbation of her mind. Throckmorton soon afterwards waited on the Scottish queen to justify the conduct of his sovereign. When Mary saw him, she ordered her attendants to retire; "that," said she, "if, like the Queen of England, I cannot command my temper, I may at least have fewer spectators of my weakness;" and when Throckmorton had declared the object of his visit, she calmly replied, "Your mistress reproaches me with my youth—it is a defect which time will cure—but she might reproach me with my folly, if, young as I am, without husband or council, I should take on myself to ratify the treaty. When I have consulted the estates of my realm, I will return a definite answer. I only repent of having had the weakness to ask of your sovereign a favor which I did not need. I came to France in defiance of Edward VI.; I will return to Scotland in defiance of his sister. I want nothing of her but her friendship; if she chooses, she may have me a loving kinswoman and a useful neighbor; for it is not my intention to intrigue with the discontented in her kingdom, as she intrigues with the discontented in mine."

If this answer had been faithfully transmitted to Elizabeth, she would perhaps have entered into herself, and — blushing at the more than equivocal conduct she had hitherto exhibited — have made a treaty with Mary, which, dictated in good faith, would have had some chance of continuance ; but the officious and base Trockmorton transmitted to Elizabeth the answer of the Queen of Scotland so altered and disguised as only to determine her to adopt what Lord James, Morton, and Maitland had recommended : to seize her *good sister* on the route, and conduct her to England. A fleet was soon collected in the waters of the Thames, and ordered to cruise in the Channel, under pretext of clearing it from pirates. The Queen of Scotland was informed of it, and demanded an explanation. Elizabeth herself wrote to her, that at the request of the King of Spain she had sent a few barks to sea to cruise after certain Scottish pirates. Mary was not diverted from her purpose ; but confiding in Providence, she fearlessly, but not without regret, made preparations for her departure.

O, why was not Catharine touched by the tears which her unjust rigor caused to be shed ? All those who saw Mary, all those who could hear her complaints, were afflicted with her, and

blamed Catharine. What had she then to fear from this young queen, who, content to live in a country she loved, appeared entirely averse to ambition for power? And it was true that Mary had not loved the throne upon which she had been seated, because, from the height of this throne, she could dictate her pleasure over a vast empire; she loved it rather through levity, because, young, amiable, and beautiful, she was, as it were, upon a pedestal, from which she received the incense which all the French lords burned before her. If through flattery she obtained from the king all that she asked, it was to please her uncles, whom she loved and respected, particularly the Cardinal of Lorraine, who joined to the talents of a statesman all the grace of a delicate and witty courtier, besides the charm of a conversation always full of happy sallies. She had not known her father; she could only preserve of her mother a vague and confused remembrance, for at the age of six years she had been separated from her, and since that time had not seen her; and moreover her tender and sensible heart had need of love. Her uncles had supplied the place of parents, whom she had not: she cherished them, respected them, had unlimited confidence in them; and

when they besought her to sustain, through her ascendancy, the advice which they gave the king, Mary did it joyfully, because she firmly believed that her uncles wished only what was just.

But Catharine saw only in the young queen an odious rival, who would be a useful and powerful auxiliary for the Guise, by drawing into their party this swarm of lords and knights who surrounded her, in order that, fashioned by experience to the manœuvres of the court, or learning with age to love power for its own gratifications, she might place herself at the head of this party by the influence she would exercise over the new sovereign. Charles IX., notwithstanding what has been said by Protestant writers, and their worthy competitors the pretended philosophers of the nineteenth century, had been endowed by Heaven with good qualities; a bad education had corrupted them, and his defects were increased. Thus his passion became real fury at the least contradiction; should his brother's widow gain the ascendancy over him, as would have probably happened, Catharine would have been forever excluded from power. When Mary's departure had been mentioned for the first time, Charles had strenuously opposed it: he was then only twelve years of age; yet he de-

manded her as a wife from his mother. When they represented to him that there existed between her and himself bonds of affinity which rendered their marriage impossible, he replied, "Well, I will go to Rome, cast myself at the pope's feet, and the pope will give me Mary."

Assuredly the Queen of Scotland had not sought to create this penchant; but Catharine appeared to believe it, that she might reproach her, and the more Charles persisted in wishing to hinder this departure which afflicted him, the more Catharine sought to hasten it, and meanwhile destroy this growing passion of her son. We will say nothing of the unworthy distractions which she is accused of having furnished the young prince, so as to occupy his mind otherwise; we will speak only of the calumnies concerning Mary which she circulated around her son, in order that this envenomed discourse would be borne from all parts to the ears of the king, as repeated by so many echoes. It was by these means that she finally obtained his consent to her departure.

At length came the doleful day when Mary, leaving France forever, entered upon a career of misfortune. At the commencement of the month of August, Mary Stuart, in the bloom of



ADIEU, FRANCE, ADIEU !

youth, beautiful, and rich in knowledge, — Mary, with a cultivated mind and a generous heart, — left the Louvre, her eyes moist with tears, and departed for Calais, accompanied by her uncles and many French and Scottish lords. Two galleys and four transports awaited her at Calais, to receive herself, suite, and baggage. She ascended the deck of the royal galley, (15th of August, 1561;) and as long as the coast remained in sight, her eyes were constantly directed towards the land in which she had lived from her childhood, and had reigned as queen. In proportion as the downs of the coast seemed to sink before her eyes, a dolorous sensation descended from her forehead, and spread over all her features as a veil of mourning. It has been said, that by degrees the last ray of hope was extinguished. “Adieu, France, adieu!” exclaimed she, raising her hands to heaven, as if to offer Him the sacrifice of all her affections.

The night was calm and still, but sleep had deserted her eyelids, for repose was not in her heart. The next day Mary was on deck before sunrise, and she still sought with her eyes this cherished land, this land of her adoption, which she yet seemed to discern through the clouds which overhung the waters. But a thick fog soon

arising enveloped her galley in gloom. "O, it is all over," exclaimed she again. "France! France! I shall never see you more."*

The mist which deprived the Queen of Scotland of the sight of land, which she coasted near enough in order to shun a rencontre with the *small English barks* despatched by Elizabeth to clear the seas from pirates, favored the progress of the galleys, which passed near the English

* Tradition informs us that it was then that Mary composed the following song:—

“Adieu, plaisant pays de France,
O ma patrie
La plus chérie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!

Adieu, France! Adieu, mes beaux jours!
La nef qui dejoint mes amours
N’a ici de moi que la moitié;
Une parte te reste; elle est tienne:
Je la fie a ton amitié,
Pour que de l’autre il te souviennne!”

Thou pleasant land of France, farewell!
Cherished with love
All lands above,
Nurse of my infancy, farewell!

Dear France, and happier days, adieu!
The sail that wafts me far from you,
Bears but my half away; the rest
Thine own, and thine alone shall be:
This of *its* faith the pledge and test—
To love and to remember thee.

squadron without being perceived. Of the four transports, one only escaped ; the three others were taken by the English admiral, (19th of August,) but the galleys slipped through his grasp. The minister Cecil, who was greatly disconcerted at an occurrence which had only placed in his power the queen's mules instead of the queen herself, wrote to Throckmorton not to fail to publish at Paris that the admiral, who was cruising in the Channel to cleanse it from pirates, had met the queen's galleys, and offered them the accustomed salute — which was entirely false ; in reality, the admiral, in addition to what Cecil had stated, had stopped the vessels, but only to make a thorough examination of them ; they even detained one which appeared suspicious — that one on which was found the Earl of Eglington, one of the queen's officers.

Mary approached her own land with mingled emotions of hope and apprehension. How would she be received at Edinburgh ? Would she find there faithful friends, or would her native soil refuse to receive its sovereign ? To disappoint the machinations of her enemies, she had arrived a fortnight before the appointed time, so that no preparation had been made for her reception. But scarcely had the news of her

arrival been received at the capital, than the whole population of Edinburgh flocked to her—peers, nobles, citizens, mechanics, the clergy, children, old men, every one; and as she appeared, unanimous acclamations made the air resound with the name of Mary. Her fears and suspicions were dispelled, to give place to the most lively joy. It is agreeable to a sovereign to be loved; and never did any king on earth receive more marks of love than the Scottish people gave on this memorable day to their amiable sovereign. Ah, may she enjoy for a long time the happiness which she experiences. May it please Heaven that this radiant day be succeeded by one as radiant.

CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF MARY.—SHE MARRIES DARNLEY.

MARY, upon ascending the throne, was aware that she could hope for but little assistance from France, distracted as it was by civil war. She therefore determined, by the advice of her uncles, to subdue by conciliation, if possible, the hostility of her former opponents. Her principal ministers were Lord James Stuart, although she was not

ignorant that he had promised Elizabeth to disclose to her all the state secrets, and the apostate Maitland, who had been her private secretary, and had betrayed her: she counted on gaining the latter through generosity; and it must be acknowledged that, if Lord James remained treacherous, as his correspondence with Robert Dudley proves, Maitland, in his correspondence with Cecil, although he appears very desirous of obtaining the favor of Elizabeth, is not the less zealous protector of his sovereign, sustaining her interests with as much zeal as ability. In fact, Lord James and Maitland possessed the complete confidence of the Congregationalists, and it was evident that if Mary could attach them to her interests, she would have much less to fear from the Congregation. It appeared, also, that Mary, who speedily forgot an injury, sincerely desired to live on good terms with Elizabeth. Her letters were frank; but Elizabeth always answered reservedly, because she could regard Mary only as a rival, always ready at the least accident to dispute her right to the crown. Wherefore she continued to insist that Mary should ratify the treaty of Leith, particularly that article which not only recognized the right of Elizabeth, but also precluded the Scottish queen

from assuming the arms or title of England. To the first of these points Mary offered no objection; but she contended that to assent to the second would be a virtual renunciation of her birthright, and an allowance of the claim made to the succession by the house of Suffolk. Cecil suggested that Mary, on her part, should acknowledge the right to the crown of England to be vested in Elizabeth and the lawful heirs of her body; and that Elizabeth should declare, on the other, that failing her own issue, the succession belonged of right to the Queen of Scotland. With this arrangement the latter was satisfied; but the consent of Elizabeth could not be obtained: Cecil proposed a conference between the two queens in a northern county. Mary assented to the proposal; but Elizabeth, after having appeared to desire this interview, would not consent to it. Cecil was obliged to allege pretext upon pretext in excuse of his sovereign — roads rendered impassable by the rains, the royal houses between London and York out of repair, and the want of time to make the necessary provision of wine, fowl, and poultry.* Elizabeth's true reason Cecil

* It was on the 20th of June that Cecil gave this pitiable excuse, and the conference was not to have taken place until the month of August.

could not declare; it was the Queen of England's feminine jealousy, which made her dread to appear less young, less amiable, and less beautiful than the Queen of Scotland; and Elizabeth probably foresaw that, appearing with all her charms in the northern counties, Mary would exercise a very great influence over all minds; she was aware that in that section Mary's rights were generally judged better than her own.

Meanwhile Mary was far from being as happy as the enthusiastic reception she had met with on her arrival seemed to declare.* She had been brought up in the Catholic religion, and had come fully decided to persevere in its doctrines, and regularly observe the precepts of the church. The day after her arrival in Edinburgh, she ordered that the mass be offered up in her chapel by a Catholic priest; and this same people, who had proclaimed her sovereign with shouts of frantic

* On landing, she had at first repaired to Holyrood Palace, from whence herself and suite were conducted to Edinburgh on miserable country hackneys, covered with dilapidated harness; and when, involuntarily reverting to the past, she inwardly compared the miserable animals with the superb horses she had in France, and the rude and blackened walls of Holyrood with the rich apartments of the Louvre, she refrained with difficulty from testifying her regret. The affection which the people exhibited for her consoled her for every thing; but, unhappily, it did not last.

joy, not wishing that she should enjoy the liberty of conscience they themselves claimed, rushed to the palace, and would have massacred the priest, without the intervention of Lord James Stuart.

Meanwhile Mary, as is acknowledged even by her enemies, displayed in the commencement of her reign prudence seemingly incompatible with her youth, (she was only in her nineteenth year.) It is true that nature had lavished upon her all those exterior gifts which please, captivate, or inspire men with awe; she was of a beautiful figure, and her graceful motion did not detract from her noble and majestic carriage; her features expressed the benevolence of her character, and her physiognomy was bewitching. By the ease of her manners, and her affability, she captivated hearts; but to sustain herself amidst all the rival or hostile parties which her sudden arrival had disconcerted, she had often to act against her will, and more than once to overcome conscientious scruples, which reproached her with making concessions to the dissenters, without which she would not have been allowed to possess the throne a single day. She acted in every thing that concerned religious matters by the advice of Maitland, and her brother, whom she

had at first created prior of St. Andrew's, and afterwards Earl of Marr.

Despite Mary's efforts to maintain internal tranquillity, despite her condescension to those who each day demanded new sacrifices, despite even the conciliatory measures taken by Maitland to gain the lords of the Congregation to the queen's government, there existed an intractable class of men, whom nothing could reclaim; these were the reformed preachers, men of great speeches, who found every thing defective in the church of Rome, announced themselves as apostles of a better religion, — the pure doctrine of the gospel, — and who, to show the sweetness of their evangelic virtues, delivered themselves up to all the excesses of intolerance, which frightened not even the idea of crime. It is known that the tolerance of these great reformers is only for the people, who are always right when they arise against obdurate men who reject their doctrines; they never ascended the pulpit without declaiming against the queen with such violence that it was only surprising that, after their sermons, a hundred arms, armed with poniards, did not snatch the life of this *impious woman, the agent of Satan, the enemy of true Christianity*; for thus they styled Mary.

The queen sent for John Knox, the virulent patriarch of reform. "John Knox," said she to him, with angelic sweetness, "why do you pursue me so virulently? What have I done that you should seek to alienate the hearts of my subjects from me? Does your religion order you to be unmerciful to those who have, in your opinion, the misfortune not to agree in your doctrines? Ah, I myself have this misfortune; but does that make me your enemy? Have I endeavored to use against you the royal authority? Go; you will lose nothing in opinion by showing yourself more moderate in what you call the accomplishment of your duty." Knox stammered some excuse, made vague promises, and did not change. He considered it a crime in the queen not to have ratified the religious system adopted by Parliament in 1560, and the confiscation of the goods of the clergy, a stringent accessory of this system. The Earl of Marr, who appeared at that time to have for his sister as much affection as he had previously shown aversion and hatred, sustained her with all his influence against the venomous manœuvres of Knox and his friends, which for a long time rendered Knox and the earl almost enemies. The queen, grateful for what her brother did for her, granted

him her entire friendship, and loaded him, meanwhile, with favors. To have named him the Earl of Marr was not sufficient; she created him Earl of Murray, whose great wealth had been annexed to the crown, and whose party she wished to detach in her brother's favor. But this grant met with sharp opposition in the Earl of Huntley, the most powerful lord of Northern Scotland.

This earl seized the greater part of Murray's domains; he was of the small number of peers who had rejected the doctrines of reform, and it seemed that this conformity of religious opinions should have established a close alliance between the queen and himself; it was not so. It is contended that Huntley offered the queen to join her, on her arrival, with twenty thousand men, if she desired to reëstablish the Catholic religion, and that the queen refused this powerful assistance because she did not wish to involve Scotland in civil war. But it is very doubtful whether this proposition was made, for it is very probable that the Guise would have urgently counselled their niece to accept it. What seems more likely is, that Huntley openly aspired to conquer his independence, and that the queen sought to diminish a power, which, at first

rivalling, would have, perhaps, finally become dominant.

A judicial penalty inflicted by Sir John Gordon, son of the earl, for some abuses of power, became for Huntley, if not a legitimate cause for resistance and revolt, at least a plausible pretext; for nothing was easier than to contend that Sir John Gordon had transcended his authority. The queen, not wishing to allow the earl time to make much preparation, advanced at the head of a small body of troops, and took the northern route, sometimes passing the night under a tent, sometimes accepting hospitality in the besmoked manor of some noble countryman. As she was naturally gay, and above all very affable, she often mingled with her warriors, laughed with them at disappointments in travelling, and filled them with a devotedness which rendered them invincible. The earl was startled by the queen's apparition, and he repaired to her, protesting his submission; but when Mary's little army appeared before Inverness, the governor refused her entrance, although Inverness was a royal castle. The fortress was immediately invested, and the garrison forced to surrender; the governor, having been tried by a court martial, was condemned to death as a traitor and executed. In the mean

time Sir John Gordon, who had escaped from prison, armed all his father's vassals, and advanced towards Aberdeen, where the queen was. Huntley joined his son.

The new Earl of Murray was brave, and above all an excellent general. He located his little band in an advantageous position, and placed in front the northern clans, composed of men whom he had called upon, and who had responded to the appeal, but of whose courage he was doubtful. What he had foreseen occurred: the clans opposed only a feeble resistance to Gordon's soldiers, and retreated towards Murray's select battalion. Gordon's troops pursued them, throwing away their lances and drawing their swords; and — as in all pursuits — their ranks became disordered. Being attacked at this moment by Murray, Gordon's troops in vain attempted to rally; pressed more and more, they fell back. The clans which had fled at first, on seeing fortune change, returned to the charge, and finished by routing their enemies, (1562.) Huntley, who was very fat and heavily armed, fell from his horse, and was crushed to death by the retreating army; according to some versions, he died of despair. His son was made prisoner and beheaded; a decree branded the earl's memory;

Murray was placed in possession of the new domains, and the queen returned to Edinburgh, leaving all the northern barons filled with terror by the activity of her measures, and the success of her arms.

Very soon after, the politic Maitland departed for London, ostensibly to recommend to Elizabeth a peace between her and Charles IX., in reality to watch the proceedings of the English Parliament. The House of Commons voted an address to Elizabeth, requesting her to marry; there was likewise a similar proceeding spoken of in Scotland with respect to Mary; for the Scots, as well as the English, desired that the queen should have a direct successor, and that each of them should name one in case of their not having children. They reminded Elizabeth of the attempt of foreign powers to set up a competitor against herself, and of the danger to the reformed faith, if a Catholic should succeed. These remarks were evidently pointed at Mary Stuart; but the interests of that princess were protected, if not by justice, at least by the caprice of Elizabeth, who resented the interference of the Commons in a concern which she deemed exclusively her own. She received the petition reluctantly, and when reminded of an answer,

she replied sharply and in an unsatisfactory manner.

Mary received no address, but she knew that the Scots were desirous that she should marry again ; and she herself was not averse. On the one hand her uncles proposed to her the King of Navarre ; on the other was presented the Archduke of Austria. The King of Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon, was the head of the Calvinist party ; the Guise offered him the throne of Scotland, with that of England in perspective, and Antoine wavered. But he was married to Jane D'Albert, who had borne him children, which was a great obstacle to another marriage. The legate, it is true, had intimated that the marriage might be easily broken, as Jane was heretical : Antoine recoiled before the obstacles ; not so Charles of Austria.

This prince, son of the Emperor Ferdinand, had formerly demanded the hand of Elizabeth, who, after having hesitated for a long time, according to custom, concluded by alleging conscientious scruples, which would not permit her to tolerate in her palace the celebration of idolatrous worship.* And this more than strange

* The emperor had demanded liberty for his son to have a Catholic chapel.

response disgusted the Austrian prince, who thought of the Queen of Scotland on learning the death of Francis II. The Cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he applied, favored this demand, the success of which would have probably caused a triple or even a quadruple alliance between France, Austria, Scotland, and Spain. But Mary, who, though she reckoned little on the friendship of Elizabeth, wished, however, to be on good terms with her, believed it proper to communicate to her the proposal of the archduke. Elizabeth's jealousy was reawakened more brisk than ever. Cecil devised two plans, which were immediately carried into effect. By the first, Elizabeth, who believed herself the most beautiful woman on earth, was brought forward as a rival to Mary: nor did her vanity entertain a doubt that the archduke would prefer her charms and her crown to those of her Scottish sister. But was she, the haughty Elizabeth, to make the proposal? Cecil, who every where had spies in his pay, treated with the Duke of Wirtemberg; and that prince, as of himself, solicited the emperor to renew the treaty between his son and the English queen. But Ferdinand answered coldly that the Queen of England had already made him the dupe of her selfish and

insincere policy ; and that he would not expose himself to similar treatment a second time.

The other plan was to induce Mary, by threats and promises, to refuse the archduke. Cecil sent Randolph to Scotland, with instructions to read to her a long lecture on the choice of a husband: Elizabeth, he told her, preferred a single life; but was neither surprised nor displeased that her younger sister should entertain thoughts of marriage. But she should bear in mind, that her destined husband should have three recommendations: he should be one whom she could love; one whom her subjects could approve; and one who was likely to preserve and augment the friendship existing between the two crowns. Was Charles of Austria such a person? Would he have been proposed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, if he had not promised to be the enemy of England? The Queen of Scotland should recollect that the success of her claim to the succession depended on the choice of her husband.

“ Whom shall I take, then, for a husband, to please Elizabeth?” exclaimed the queen, whom the ambiguity of Randolph’s discourse had a little ruffled. The envoy replied with a mysterious air that Elizabeth wished her to marry an English nobleman; he declined explaining

himself further to Mary, but the great secret was first revealed to the Earl of Murray. Maitland was also informed of it, and testified much surprise when he learned that the English lord, destined by Elizabeth to share the throne with Mary, was no other than Sir Robert Dudley, better known afterwards as the Earl of Leicester. Maitland's surprise was natural; no one was ignorant in London or England that Robert Dudley was the favored lover of the queen; that the most dishonorable reports were in circulation respecting her conduct; and that, with a cynical indifference for public opinion, Elizabeth took no pains to conceal the impropriety of her conduct. Maitland thence concluded that Elizabeth did not wish the queen to marry, for most assuredly she would not be separated from the man who for two years hindered her from yielding to the wishes of her subjects. Lastly, when this was officially communicated to Mary, she answered haughtily that the Queen of Scotland, queen dowager of France, could not become the wife of a mere subject.

Mary had too much penetration not to divine Elizabeth's real design; but not wishing to appear to reject disdainfully her sister's offer, she added that, after mature reflection, she had

decided on marrying Sir Robert, on condition that Elizabeth would recognize her publicly, and cause her to be recognized by Parliament, as her heir, in case she died without children. Mary knew that this condition would not be accepted. (1564.)

Meanwhile she had partly responded to the desires of the Queen of England by refusing, besides, the archduke, the Prince of Asturia, the Dukes of Anjou, Nemours, Orleans, and Ferrara. The Earl of Murray entertained the views of the Queen of England; he is represented as aspiring to the succession for himself or for his children, and was consequently interested in opposing her sister's marriage; some even go so far as to say, that he had entertained a criminal passion for his sister, which, not being sated, was changed afterwards into a dreadful feeling of hatred.

In the interim, the English Parliament was occupied with the succession; all parties had agreed that the next heir was to be sought among the descendants either of Margaret, the elder, or of Mary, the younger, sister of Henry VIII.; the former had espoused James IV., King of Scotland, and grandfather of Mary; the latter had been three months queen of France by her marriage with Louis XII.; she had afterwards

married the Duke of Suffolk. Mary was, undoubtedly, the rightful representative of Margaret; but there were some who preferred the Countess of Lennox, the daughter of Queen Margaret by her second husband, the Earl of Angus. Margaret Douglas — this daughter's name — had been brought up at court under the eyes of her uncle, who, wishing to reward the Earl of Lennox, who had been the leader of the English party after the death of James V., gave her to him as a wife, with considerable lands. From this marriage issued several children, the eldest of whom bore the name of Lord Darnley. It was represented to Mary that a marriage with him would be worthy of her, for the Earl of Lennox was a near relation of the Stuarts, and his wife was the niece of Henry VIII. Darnley, besides, would satisfy the requirements of Elizabeth, since he had been born in her dominions, and was heir to the lands which his father held of the English crown; and it would strengthen her claim to the succession, since all the rights of the descendants of Margaret, in both lines, would centre in her and her husband. The idea had been first suggested to Mary by the Countess of Lennox, and she had adopted it. Not doubting that Elizabeth would approve of it, she im-

mediately informed her of it. But if Elizabeth's conduct had been enigmatical before, it became from this period inexplicable. On the one hand, she wrote to Mary not to admit the Earl of Lennox into her dominions; on the other, she permitted the earl to proceed to Scotland, and even gave him a letter of recommendation to Mary; and afterwards complained of the gracious reception which he had experienced in consequence of her own request. In like manner she proposed anew Sir Robert Dudley, whom she had created Earl of Leicester, that he might appear more worthy of a royal consort; but then she opposed a new obstacle to his success, by allowing Darnley to proceed to the Scottish court, on a pretended visit to his father.

Some persons believe that the Queen of England permitted Darnley to proceed to Scotland in the hope that his presence at Holyrood would ruin him in Mary's opinion. Darnley was of tall stature, fine form, and engaging exterior, but he had neither penetration, nor wit, nor prudence; and a woman like Mary would perceive herself too much his superior to condescend to such a union. Elizabeth was mistaken if such was her expectation; Mary was enamoured at first sight, and only regarded the exterior. Nevertheless,

when, after some days, he made a proposal of marriage to her, she reproached him with his presumption, refused his proffered ring, and so disconcerted him, that he knew not what to reply; but Elizabeth aided him without being aware of it. She wrote imperiously to Mary that if she expected to have any inquiry made into her claim to the succession, she must either marry Leicester or engage to remain a widow.

Mary, on receiving this letter, burst into tears, for her *good sister's* object was then divulged: Elizabeth neither wished nor intended her to succeed to the English crown herself, nor have issue to perpetuate her right. But the Queen of Scotland had too much spirit to submit to the dictates of a stranger. Thenceforward she beheld Darnley with a more favorable eye; and as the advice of her friends concurred with her own inclinations, she informed Elizabeth that she had resolved on sharing her throne with Darnley. Elizabeth was revenged upon the Countess of Lennox, in which she exhibited much littleness. When the conduct of this great queen — of whom the English are so proud — is narrowly examined, very little character is manifested. She ordered Lennox and his son to return to England, under penalty of forfeiture; and, as if the Catholics were the

cause of this marriage, it was resolved to treat them with additional severity. The unprincipled Throckmorton was sent to Scotland, where he begged and threatened, yet was not able to subdue the resolution of Mary. He then directed his remonstrances to the disaffected lords, and stimulated them to rebellion, with the hope of assistance from England.

At the head of the malcontents was the Earl of Murray, who opposed his sister's marriage with Darnley, either because he felt for her more than fraternal love, or because this marriage would destroy his hopes. His associates were the Duke of Chastelherault, who feared that the marriage of the queen with Darnley would give the ascendancy to the rival house of Lennox; the Earl of Argyle, who had been compelled to restore to the father of Darnley the forfeited property of the family; and many of the lords, who had fought under the same standard during the war of the reformation. Murray retired from the court under the same conscientious scruples which Elizabeth had alleged against the Archduke of Austria, and a plan was formed to surprise Mary, Lennox, and Darnley, confine the first in the Castle of Lochleven, and murder the two latter, or at least deliver them up to Elizabeth, who,

probably, would not have them better treated. The Earl of Murray would be placed at the head of the new government.

Mary, having received timely warning of the conspiracy to intercept her on the route, escaped by departing some hours before the time appointed by the conspirators. They, being frustrated in their attempt, repaired to Stirling, where they signed a covenant, in which they bound themselves by oath for the performance of their engagements; declaring, moreover, that they wished to serve their sovereign faithfully—bitter decision. The following day they sent a message to Elizabeth to remind her of her promises of assistance, and to urge her to fulfil them speedily. Mary, on her side, lost no time. On her arrival in Edinburgh, she appealed to her faithful subjects, and they assembled in such large numbers that she had nothing to fear from the conspirators. The banns were published, and Darnley, successively created Earl of Ross and Duke of Albany, became Mary's consort, (19th of July, 1565.) Mary! who, then, has said, that in contracting this unlucky marriage, you dug the grave of Darnley and your own! You did not know your Scots; you knew not to what lengths almost savage men might be impelled by

ambition and a desire for vengeance; you knew not this Elizabeth, who had sworn your death, because your life, your existence, as long as it lasted, reproached her with her usurpation; this Elizabeth, the falsest, the most perfidious, the most inconsistent, and the most deeply corrupted of women!

Cecil was disconcerted by the news of the marriage. He wished to declare war, but he had no pretext; he determined to threaten and intimidate. A considerable sum of money was sent to Murray; a reënforcement of two thousand men reached Berwick; the Earls of Shrewsbury and Bedford were commissioned to act as the queen's commissioners, or lieutenants, in the northern counties. Bedford was even authorized to make — but at his own expense, for Elizabeth was not a prodigal — an incursion into Scotland. At the same time, Tamworth, a new envoy, was despatched to Mary, furnished with complaints, remonstrances, and threats. Tamworth fulfilled his mission with so much zeal, that the queen, irritated at his audacity, had him arrested and confined in the Castle of Dunbar, because he had presumed to traverse her dominions without a passport. She informed Randolph, that if he

continued to intrigue with her subjects, she would put him under arrest; she also charged him to inform his mistress that the Queen of Scotland begged her to be content with the government of England, and to leave Scotland to the care of its own sovereign.

This did not suffice to disband Murray's faction, which was already in arms. Mary, at the head of eighteen thousand men, drove the insurgents before her in spite of the predictions of Randolph, who had predicted before the marriage that it would cost the life of Darnley, whom many of the conspirators had sworn to kill or perish in the attempt. "If the queen," — Elizabeth, — he added, "will aid them, they doubt not that in a short time one country will contain two queens" — by which he intimated that the Queen of Scotland would be sent a prisoner to England. Murray, avoiding meeting the army, rapidly advanced towards Edinburgh, reckoning on the insurrection of the inhabitants; but they remained faithful to the queen, and he was constrained to retire, because the castle threatened to attack his forces. Pursued without relaxation, the insurgents successively evacuated Hamilton and Dumfries; and having no longer any chance

of safety, the leaders dispersed their bands, and escaped to England.*

Here the hostile intervention of England was too openly exhibited for it to be successfully denied; nevertheless, Elizabeth undertook it. When Murray and some of his companions had arrived at London, she at first refused to see them; and when she permitted them to appear before her, it was in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors. A comical scene had been prepared in advance: Murray and the others, on entering, fell upon their knees before the queen, and lying to truth and their consciences, declared, in a humble and confused tone, that the queen was *innocent* of the conspiracy, — by which they acknowledged themselves guilty, — and had never advised them to disobey their sovereign. It was then Elizabeth's part. "Ye have now spoken *truth*," said she; "get from my presence, traitors as ye are." As a reward for this meanness, Murray obtained from her a small pittance for his support at Berwick, which he chose, or which was assigned him, as a residence;

* This expedition of the insurgents is called by the characteristic name of *Run-about raid*, which signifies a predatory incursion. It is also called the *raid of Beith*, because the insurgents had designated the church of Beith as the first rendezvous.

he was, however, obliged to say that he received it from his Scottish friends; it was necessary that the comedy should be continued even to the end. Finally, what happened on this occasion happens at all theatrical performances: the spectators listen, are amused at what they hear, and retire fully convinced that they have been only present at a play.

CHAPTER VI.

MURDER OF RIZZIO. — ASSASSINATION OF DARNLEY.

IN triumphing over her rebellious subjects, Mary had not overcome all her enemies; there remained to her one more dangerous, more importunate, in the husband, or rather the tyrant, she had chosen. So few interviews had preceded the marriage, that she had not noticed any of his defects. Experience alone convinced her that he was naturally capricious in his temper, violent in his passions, implacable in his resentments. He had already contracted habits of ebriety, which led him occasionally into the most scandalous excesses, and made him forget, even in public, the respect due to his consort.

Besides this coarse vice, he was extravagantly ambitious, and lacked the necessary courage to sustain the acts in which she had engaged him. Also, when Mary convoked Parliament for the twofold purpose of attainting, among the rebel refugees in England, those who were the most culpable, and to obtain liberty of conscience for those who professed the same religion as herself, Darnley demanded that the Duke of Chastelherault and his relations should be included in the attainder; by that the rival house of Hamilton would have lost their claims to the succession in case the queen had no children, which would have rendered him presumptive heir after his father. To this demand he added another, the object of which had been between the queen and himself an endless subject for bickering: he wished that the crown matrimonial be granted him.*

* The right which the queen gives her husband to wear the crown as herself, and share with her the royal authority, is called the matrimonial right. Mary had ordered that the title of king should be given him during her life, and that decrees should be drawn up in the name of the two consorts, Henry and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland; but this was only mere form, which conferred on Darnley no real authority. This crown had been decreed to Francis II., the queen's first husband; and it could not be otherwise, for the dauphin of France could not be the subject of his wife. Darnley wished to have the same rank, which would have given him the right to govern

Mary was deaf to the entreaties, complaints, and menaces of her husband ; she had already done for him more than he merited, and she was determined to refuse this last concession without the consent of Parliament. Darnley, being much irritated, and imagining that the opposition of Mary had been prompted by her counsellors, and especially by an Italian, named David Rizzio, who, through his knowledge of foreign languages, conformity of religious opinions, and amenity of manners, had arisen to the post of private secretary, swore to have vengeance upon Rizzio,*

Scotland in case of his wife's death, without, nevertheless, having the power to transfer this right to children, whom he might have by a second wife. It was this crown that the Prince of Orange received when he dethroned his father-in-law, and his wife Mary assumed the diadem.

* Rizzio, a native of Piedmont, had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy. This minister had recommended him to the queen, who appointed him one of the pages of the chamber, and not a domestic, as some writers have stated. On the departure of the French interpreter, Raullet, Rizzio was appointed in his place. Adroit, discreet, and faithful, he obtained the queen's confidence, who, on her marriage, appointed him keeper of the privy purse to the king and queen. It is said that when Darnley aspired to the queen's hand, he had sought the friendship or countenance of Rizzio, who possessed great influence, and who, it appears, pleaded for him. Certain writers have published that Rizzio only pleased Mary by his talents for music, — which she loved passionately, — and that the humble musician was loved by his royal mistress. This is a shameful calumny, which the most enraged enemies of this unfor-

by having him assassinated; and as the unfortunate Rizzio was both a foreigner and a Catholic, which excited the jealousy of courtiers and preachers, Darnley thought it would be easy to procure accomplices. He sought and obtained

tunate princess did not dare to assert during her life. It was mentioned for the first time in a letter of the Earl of Bedford to Randolph, and in a narrative of this event supposed to have been written by Lord Ruthven. But it should not be forgotten that Bedford had been sent by Elizabeth to direct and sustain the insurrection upon the frontier; that Randolph, who, despite the formal notice and threats of the queen, had continued to intrigue, had been ignominiously expelled the kingdom; that Lord Ruthven was one of the principal actors in Murray's conspiracy. Nevertheless, the statement he made to Cecil was not published until after his death, from which it may be well believed that it was either forged or altered by Cecil himself; and he has so constantly given sufficient proofs of his dishonesty, that we are justified in attributing a fraudulent alteration or addition to him. Besides, Rizzio was old and very ugly; the queen was then in the zenith of her beauty. What likelihood of her forgetting herself in this case? What she loved in Rizzio was his tried devotedness; but a queen need not repay devotedness with love. When, many months after, Mary, in full council, summoned Darnley to state unreservedly all his complaints against her, and in which she told him *not to spare her*, Darnley said nothing of Rizzio. Finally, the reformer Knox, who, to show the superiority of his doctrines over those of the Catholics, seized, Christian-like, all occasions to injure the latter, particularly the queen, — this charitable Knox, who would have purchased at a high price the pleasure of alleging a deed of this kind against the queen, has not said a single word in regard to it. From all these considerations, we hesitate not to reject as calumnious an imputation which nothing otherwise justifies. Mr. Chalmers has proved that he was never one of the queen's musicians.

them among the lords who had taken part in the conspiracy, but who had not betrayed themselves by any overt act of coöperation; of this number were Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland.

The Duke of Chastelherault was pardoned by Mary (1556) on the sole condition of passing some years on the continent, which excited a violent resentment in Darnley. The perfidious Maitland, who perceived that his fate was in some manner linked to that of the exiles, — a single word from whom would accuse him, — Morton, and others believed the occasion favorable to induce the king to make common cause with them. The first suggestion was made by George Douglas, the brother of Morton; and as Douglas knew the king's sentiments with respect to Rizzio, he insinuated to him that the queen had transferred her affections to Rizzio; that it was by the advice of this odious favorite that she had pardoned Hamilton, who had retired from the kingdom, and that she so persistingly refused him the matrimonial crown. Therefore the only expedient for him to obtain his just rights, was to call to his aid the expatriated lords.

This thoughtless prince must have known that these lords were his enemies, and that if they had sought a refuge in England, it was because

they wished to take his life, though their project had not succeeded ; in spite of such antecedents, he did not hesitate to confide in men who only opened their arms to stifle him in their embrace. Two bonds were prepared and subscribed, the one by Darnley, the other by Argyle, Murray, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree, in the name of all the conspirators. Darnley engaged to prevent their attainder, to obtain their pardon, to support their religion, and to aid them in all their just quarrels ; they to become his true subjects, friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies ; to obtain for him the crown matrimonial during the whole of his life ; for that purpose to defend him at all points ; to maintain his just claim to the succession in case of Mary's decease ; to extirpate, or slay, every gainsayer ; and to use their influence with the Queen of England in favor of his mother, the Countess of Lennox, and his brother.

These engagements were followed by another still more atrocious, in which Darnley avowed his determination to bring to punishment divers persons, especially an Italian called David, who abused the queen's confidence. It is believed that the other persons thus devoted to slaughter were the Earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol,

Lords Fleming and Livingston, and Sir James Balfour. It was said in this infernal bond that, in case of any difficulty in pursuing these individuals by lawful means, "to take and slay them wherever they might be found." Darnley thenceforth bound himself and his heirs to save scathless all earls, lords, barons, and others, who should aid him in this enterprise.

The conspirators carefully circulated reports that *the evangel was in danger*, that Rizzio was an emissary of the pope, and that Mary had signed the holy league, by which, it was pretended, the Catholic princes bound themselves to exterminate the Protestants by a general massacre. The fact was, that Mary had received a message from the sovereign pontiff, who exhorted her, as was meet, to persevere in the faith, recommended to her care the Catholics of her realm, and besought her to send some Scottish prelate to the Council of Trent. But if the conspirators had only told what was true, they would not have succeeded so easily in perverting opinion. As the leading members of the Presbyterian church were among the conspirators, a proclamation of the *Assembly** appeared, ordering a gen-

* A convocation, convention, or council of ministers and ruling elders, delegated from each presbytery.

eral fast to be kept from one Sunday to another, on the week of the opening of Parliament; and, as if to prepare their minds for scenes of blood, or a revolution in the government, the service for each day was composed of select lessons from the Old Testament, descriptive of the extirpation of idolatry, the chastisement of wicked princes, and the visitations of God on his people, whenever they neglected the admonitions of the prophets.

On the fourth day of this fast, (Thursday, 7th of March,) the queen opened the Parliament. The bill of attainder was drawn by the lords of the articles; and the Thursday following was appointed for action upon it. But on Saturday, Morton, Chancellor Morton, whom party spirit had led into the ranks of the assassins, followed by eighty armed men, took possession of the gates of the palace. Mary, who was in an advanced state of pregnancy, was at the time seated at table in the closet of her bed chamber, with the commendator of Holyrood house and the Countess of Argyle, her bastard brother and sister, Erskine, captain of the guard, Rizzio, the secretary, and Beton, master of the household, were in attendance, and not at table with her, as malevolent persons have said. The king entered

by a private staircase, seated himself next the queen, and put his arm around her waist. Lord Ruthven, armed *cap-à-pie*, — he had not even the courage to attack a defenceless man except under a helmet and cuirass, — followed the king; the master of Ruthven, George Douglas, Ballentyne, and Kerr came immediately after Ruthven. Mary, alarmed at the sight of Ruthven, ordered him to leave the room, under penalty of treason; but he replied, that his business was with Rizzio, who, fearing for his life, sprang behind the queen, exclaiming, "*Justitia! Justitia!*" He hoped that the respect due the sovereign would protect him against the murderers; but, not regarding the prayers of the queen, nor her situation at a time when too much emotion might endanger her life, and that of the child in her womb, George Douglas, snatching the king's dirk, struck over the queen's shoulder, and left the weapon sticking in the back of Rizzio. Ballentyne, meanwhile, threatened the queen herself with his dagger, and Kerr presented a pistol to her breast. In the struggle the table was overturned; and the assassins, dragging their victim through the bed chamber and ante-chamber, despatched him at the head of the

staircase, and left him pierced with fifty-six wounds.*

Mary's friends, ignorant of the affray in the closet, had all hurried to the palace gates to oppose the entry of Morton and his band. But they were obliged to retreat, and remain in a chamber, whence they were not permitted to depart until about two in the morning.† The queen, dismayed and weeping, had not ceased to ask the pardon of her unfortunate secretary. When she learned his death, she checked her tears. "Now," said she, "is the time for revenge."

Meanwhile, Darnley, of his own authority, dissolved the Parliament the next day, (10th of March,) and before evening was joined by Murray and the exiles from Berwick. On Monday morning all the conspirators met for consultation ;

* In Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*, it is stated that the closet and bed chamber are yet in the same condition that they were then left in, and that the floor near the private staircase bears visible traces of the blood of Rizzio. This may be so, but we do not vouch for it.

† It is contended that Rizzio had received many secret warnings of what was plotting against him, and that he had despised them. Sir James Melville informed him, to no purpose, of the dangers which menaced a foreigner in every country, when he enjoyed the sovereign's favor so as to excite the jealousy of the natives. He did not regard these warnings, and perished, the victim of misplaced confidence.

and it was determined to confine the queen in the Castle of Edinburgh or Stirling, until she had sanctioned all their proceedings, established the reformed religion by law, and given to her husband the crown matrimonial, so ardently desired by him. In the interim, Murray and Morton would govern Scotland in Darnley's name. The weakness of the latter, however, made the plan miscarry. As fickle as he was violent, pusillanimous as cruel, he was himself frightened at what he had ordered. The queen, when alone with him, remarking his trouble, remorse, and fear, easily resumed the ascendancy which strong souls have over weak minds, as the famous Eleonore Galigai said at a later period in reply to the judges who demanded of her what witchcraft she had made use of to captivate the mind of Mary de' Medici. Darnley, confused and repentant, promised to remain true to the queen, and oppose with her those whom he himself had urged to the commission of crime. On the night of the 12th, the queen and her husband, attended by a single captain of the guards and two domestics, escaped together from Holyrood Palace, and reached in safety the Castle of Dunbar, whence they issued a proclamation, which, in a short time, caused a great number

of royalists to assemble around their sovereign.

Six days after her flight from Holyrood, the queen returned towards Edinburgh, and the conspirators trembled in their turn. By an adroit act of policy, tending to deprive the murderers of their auxiliaries, Mary proclaimed the pardon of Murray, Glencairn, and all those who were compromised by the *run-about raid*; Morton and his accomplices fled to England. It is worthy of remark, that whilst Elizabeth governed this country, no Scot had sought an asylum there in vain. No matter what his crime, he was sure of finding, if not avowed protection, at least secret assistance. On this occasion, Elizabeth had been informed of the conspiracy some time before its execution; she had even sent three hundred pounds to Murray on his departure from Berwick. The same day on which the king and queen escaped from Edinburgh, that noble spy, the Earl of Bedford, who was ignorant of this circumstance, wrote to Cecil, exulting that "every thing now would go well." But when Bedford, informed by Morton of the turn things had taken through the defection of Darnley, in his turn informed the queen of it, she hastened to congratulate her sister of Scotland; and as Mary in

reply required that she should not afford an asylum to murderers, this excellent sister ordered them to quit her dominions; but they were privately informed that England was large, and that they had nothing to fear, if they did not obtrude themselves on the notice of the public. The Spanish ambassador, Gusman de Silva, in the despatches which he transmitted to his court at this period, asserts that the murder of Rizzio had been decided upon at London; that eight thousand crowns had been paid to the conspirators; and that Elizabeth's ministers only awaited the moment of Mary's dethronement to substitute their mistress for her.

Mary, on resuming power, resumed also her indulgent bounty; and although she knew well the part her husband had taken in the murder of Rizzio, she affected to accept his justification. Unfortunately, Darnley did not amend; he was incapable of appreciating a generous proceeding, and misunderstanding continued between the two consorts, although Mary appeared perfectly reconciled. As the time of her delivery approached, she took up her residence at the Castle of Edinburgh. Elizabeth and Murray, England and Scotland, looked forward with suspense and anxiety to the result. Mary might have an heir

to her throne and her pretensions ; perhaps, considering the distressing scenes through which she had passed, the approaching crisis would prove fatal. Elizabeth and Murray hoped, desired ; but Heaven did not permit their wishes to be accomplished : the queen was happily delivered of a son, and this son lived to reign over the two kingdoms.

Elizabeth had ordered Randolph to tarry in the neighborhood of Berwick, and to transmit, without the least delay, the news of the event, whatever it was ; and Randolph acquitted himself of his commission with his accustomed zeal. When the courier arrived at London, Elizabeth was dancing gayly at Greenwich. Cecil immediately repaired thither, to inform her of the bad news which Randolph sent. As if struck by a thunderbolt, she dropped into an arm chair, reclined her head upon her hand, and appeared for some time absorbed in painful and profound thought. One of her maids of honor inquiring what was the matter, she replied, passionately, “ Ah, have you not heard that the Queen of Scotland has a fine boy ? and I am but barren stock.” By the next day her feelings were sufficiently subdued for her to express the *satisfaction* which the happy deliverance of Mary and

the birth of her son caused her to experience. She even dissembled so far as to accept, with great apparent joy, the office of godmother at the baptism, and appointed the Earl of Bedford to represent her at the ceremony.

The birth of the Scottish prince, to whom was given the name of James, was hailed with joy by the numerous advocates of the Scottish line in England; many, who had appeared indifferent as long as Mary remained childless, came forward in support of her cause. Elizabeth, jealous of the good fortune of her sister queen, earnestly resolved to marry, that she also might have issue to inherit the crown. But it sufficed that both Houses of Parliament addressed her on the subject that she should only think of it with indignation. Besides her ordinary irresolution, which did not permit her to have any fixed determination, Elizabeth much feared death. She did not wish the word to be pronounced before her, nor any object to be in her presence that might recall to her mind that she must die. It is very probable that this was the principal motive which prevented her from marrying. Should she have children, those children would have been her heirs, waiting impatiently for her death; recalling to her mind a hundred times a day and resound-

ing in her ears those terrible words — *her death*.* Nevertheless, the king gained nothing by the death of Rizzio. Instead of obtaining the matrimonial crown, and with it the sovereign authority, he found himself without power and influence, an object of scorn to some and of aversion to others. Yet he would have sacrificed the esteem of every one to have enjoyed the supreme rule; but the queen was less disposed than ever to yield him a jot, being convinced in advance, that he would make bad use of it. Mary, though she might forgive, could not forget the outrage which he had offered her. She also formed a new administration without taking his advice, or rather against his will: to Huntley, whom she had appointed chancellor, and Bothwell, hereditary admiral of Scotland, she added her brother Murray, and the Earl of Argyle, who had married the sister of Murray. There existed, indeed, several causes of dissension between Murray and Bothwell; but she prevailed on them

* On one occasion, Elizabeth, objecting to marriage, said, “I will not be buried whilst I am living, as my sister was. Do I not know, how, during her life, every one hastened to me at Hatfield? I am not now inclined to see such travellers.” The meaning of her “not choosing that her grave should be dug whilst yet alive,” is here explicitly defined. Mr. D’Israeli’s opinion, that it was *ob nescio quam muliebrem impotentiam*, is a shallow subterfuge.

to be reconciled, and, at their joint intercession, pardoned Maitland, notwithstanding the warm opposition of Darnley. Irritated at being without influence, he threatened Murray to kill him, but soon after absenting himself from court, refused to return, until the queen had dismissed three of the chief officers of state. Darnley even declared that he intended to leave the kingdom, and the Earl of Lennox, who was unable to dissuade him from this foolish purpose, wrote to the queen, at whose invitation he reluctantly consented to return to Edinburgh.

On his arrival, Mary led him before the assembled council, and, holding him by the hand, solicited him to detail his complaints, and *not to spare her*, if she were the cause of offence. Darnley formally declared that the queen had given him no cause for complaint, which caused the members of the council to say — as in a copy of the statement sent by Maitland to the Archbishop of Glasgow — that he not only had no cause for complaint, but he would, on the contrary, consider himself one of the most fortunate princes in Christendom, could he but know his own happiness. On his return to Stirling he acquainted the queen by letter, that what he complained of was want of authority and the neglect

of the nobility. Mary replied, that the first proceeded from his own fault, since he had employed the authority with which she first intrusted him against herself; and that he could not expect the nobility to love and honor a prince who never sought their affection or respect.

The queen, with the lords of the council, repaired to Jedburgh, to hold the court called *Justice in eyre*.* Soon after her arrival she was seized with a dangerous fever; and so slender were the hopes of her recovery, that the lords were in readiness to proceed to Edinburgh and regulate the government. Darnley would have been, undoubtedly, excluded from power, and the regency confided to Murray, in the event of the queen's death. On the ninth day, a salutary crisis took place, the symptoms became more favorable, and she began to recover slowly. We only refer here to the Queen of Scotland's sickness, to add another example to all those furnished by long experience of the efficacy of religious succor in every situation of life. By her piety, composure, and resignation, the young and beautiful Queen of Scotland edified all those who saw her. How many reasons had she not to cling to this life, from which she appeared about to depart at the

* A court of itinerant justices.

moment of its enjoyment! Ah, she had sacrificed all she had, all she hoped for, without an effort, and without a murmur. She only prayed Heaven to accept the sacrifice in expiation of all her faults. In letters full of unction, she recommended her son to the King of France and the Queen of England. She conjured the lords, whom she had summoned to her bed side, to live in harmony with each other, to watch carefully over the education of the young prince, and as a last favor, she earnestly solicited them to grant liberty of conscience to those who professed the Catholic faith, — so much calumniated, — in which she wished to die; a holy religion, which mitigated the bitterness of her last moments, because it taught her to hope in the divine mercy.

When the queen was sufficiently recovered to be able to ride on horseback, she proceeded along the banks of the Tweed as far as the Castle of Craigmiller. The king, who had only been once to see her at Jedburgh, repaired to the castle; but no advance was made towards a reconciliation. He was too proud to submit, and Mary had too much experience to yield to him. In fact, the yet unsteady state of her health, which had probably only been altered by chagrin and uneasiness, gave her an air of sadness which Darnley mistook

for aversion, inspired by himself. He only became more peevish; he did not perceive that this melancholy, which all the features of his wife expressed, was caused by himself: she then believed him incorrigible, and was often heard to exclaim, weeping, "O that the fever at Jedburgh had caused my death!"

Murray and Maitland attentively observed the moral situation of the queen. As soon as the king departed, being well persuaded that the queen would willingly agree to a divorce, by which she would be separated from a man who had so cruelly offended her, they formed a plan to obtain this divorce, subsequently to which they would obtain an act of Parliament confirmative of the grants made by the queen to many lords. The design was communicated to Huntley, the Earl of Argyle, and Bothwell, who all approved of it. They waited in a body on Mary, when Maitland reminded her of the injuries she had received from Darnley, and what she had yet to expect from him. He spoke of a divorce as the only means of freeing herself from slavery, and at the same time of delivering the kingdom from a prince who might compromise it in future.

Mary at first discovered no disapprobation of the proposal; her first thought was that of the

captive whose chain is broken by a friendly hand ; she replied that she would consent to a divorce if legally obtained and unprejudicial to her son's rights. But reflecting upon the consequences of such a proceeding, aware, perhaps, of the reports in circulation of her *liaison* with Rizzio, and those which were being circulated of her in connection with one of the five persons who were present,* she asked if it would not be better for her

* Mary's enemies appear to believe — for it cannot be possible that they believe so unlikely a thing — that for two or three months previous she had been living in the most shameful adultery with the Earl of Bothwell. This man, whose name was James Hepburn, — aged from forty to forty-five years, and head of the powerful house of Hepburn, — exercised much authority in the county of Berwick and in Eastern Lothian ; he had at first declared against reform, and assisted the queen regent. When Mary returned from France, he appeared devoted to her cause ; he was at Holyrood when the murderers of Rizzio arrived there, and he himself was in danger because he was believed to be attached to the queen, and wished to hinder the conspirators from executing their nefarious project. Mary, naturally grateful, showed her good will to those who served her faithfully. The reformed preachers, Knox and others, drew scandal therefrom, or rather an opportunity for creating scandal ; and they did create it. But what appearance of truth was in their allegations ? Bothwell's morals were very corrupt ; his very licentious conduct was little calculated to win hearts ; he was slovenly in his habits, vulgar in his language, and he was married. Buchanan became the officious echo of this malignancy — we say boldly of this calumny ; for how can the expression given above be reconciled with the answer of Darnley to his wife's summons, an answer made in the presence of the lords of the council, and reported conformably to the text by Maitland, in his

to spend some time in France with her relations. "Perhaps," she added, "Darnley, thus abandoned to himself, might learn to reform. In any case, I wish ye to do nothing through which any spot may be laid to my honor or conscience; and therefore, I pray you, rather let the matter be in the state that it is, abiding until God in his goodness put redress thereto."*

Mary's answer disconcerted the five lords, who

letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow. He freely declared that "the queen had never given him any cause for discontent." Many other documents confirm Maitland's report. The queen's detractors have attached much importance to a visit which she made from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle, distant about six leagues. Bothwell, her lieutenant on the frontier, resided in this castle; he had been wounded in the hand, in attempting to arrest an outlaw named John Elliot of the Warren. It is said that she left the very instant she was informed of this accident, and Chalmers has proved that she allowed eight days to pass before her visit; and that she went and returned the same day, which proves that she spent very little time at the castle. In fact, it is very presumable that Mary's visit to Bothwell was only for a political purpose. The frontier was infested by Elizabeth's emissaries; Bothwell was a faithful servant, and she was surrounded by suspicious persons whom she durst not trust. Very probably important interests were connected with the arrest of Elliot. It is certain that she sent Bothwell "a masse of papers" the next day.

* There is no doubt of this conversation having taken place. At the investigation of the murder of Darnley, Argyle and Huntley related it conformably to the text, to prove that Murray was the original instigator of the plot. Murray himself did not make any defence, and, by passing the charge over in silence, implicitly acknowledged its truth.

had confidently hoped to have gained the queen's consent,* and they could not conceive how — with all the reasons for hatred and discontent that her husband had given her — she had refused so determinedly. They then reverted to another scheme, which had been previously agitated — that of the assassination of the king. Bothwell undertook the execution of the crime; the others obligated themselves to protect him from the consequences. Sir James Balfour, who joined the five lords, proposed signing a bond, in which the king was styled a young fool and a proud tyrant; that the signers were determined to prevent him from obtaining the rule over them; obligated themselves to remove him by some expedient or other; and that each should regard the means employed — be they what they might — as his own deed. This instrument was signed by Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Maitland, and

* It appears evident to us that if she had so far forgotten her duty, as Buchanan supposes, the queen, whose passion would have probably predominated, would have eagerly seized the proffered means to regain her liberty. Besides, can it be supposed that Bothwell would not have foreseen and used all the ascendancy he would have had over her, to gain her consent in advance? And if she had refused Bothwell in advance, would he have permitted a proposition to be made which he knew would be declined? We will return to this subject in order to justify the memory of the unfortunate Mary from the horrible imputation of having ordered the murder of her husband.

Balfour. It is doubted whether Murray added his name. He sought to leave an issue by which to escape in case of the failure of the project. He *would neither help nor hinder*, as one of the witnesses declared upon the judicial investigation.*

From Craigmiller, the queen proceeded to Stirling, where the royal infant was baptized. Darnley was in the castle, but was not present at the ceremony, which was performed with great pomp. His absence is attributed to the order Bedford had received from his mistress not to give him the title of king, and to the court of France having instructed its agent, Le Croc, to have no communication with him until he was reconciled to the queen. The conspirators, seconded by Bedford, seized this opportunity to ask the pardon of Morton and his seventy-six associates. It is well to observe that when the five lords proposed the divorce to the queen, they

* The result of Ormiston's confession — as reported by Laing — is, that all the lords who were at Craigmiller, all those who were there with the queen, had determined on the death of Darnley. Murray, however, always maintained that he signed no bond. The witness, Paris, whose deposition was calculated to propitiate Murray, said, "*Il ne veult n'ayder ne nuire.*" Yet that amounts to an acknowledgment that Murray was privy to the plot, and would place no obstacle in its way.

made the return of Morton an indispensable condition, being assured of his wish to coöperate with all the other exiles in any measures they determined upon. Mary yielded only to their renewed solicitations, and pardoned them on the express condition that they should not return to Scotland during the two following years. In a few days they again solicited in their favor, and Mary finally consented for them to return to their native country, provided they did not approach within seven miles of the court.*

Whether Darnley was dissatisfied with this measure, which increased the number of his enemies in Scotland, or that he really feared for his life, he immediately left Stirling for his father's residence in Glasgow. Bothwell and Maitland hastened to meet Morton, (1567,) and had a secret conference with him at Whittingham, near the Lannermoor Hills; the murder of Darnley was the subject of their deliberation. On separating, Morton proceeded to St. Andrew's; the others returned to Edinburgh, accompanied by Archibald Douglas, who was soon after remanded by Maitland to Morton with this message: "Tell the Earl of Morton that the queen

* George Douglas and Kers were alone excepted from the amnesty. Lord Ruthven had died in England.

will not hear spoken of what concerns him ;” and when Archibald complained of the obscurity of these words, Maitland only added, “ Go and repeat them to the earl ; he will understand you perfectly.”

This message, which Archibald Douglas thought so unintelligible, is thus explained. If Morton’s avowals, made at a later period, may be believed, he refused at the Whittingham conference to concur in the execution of the conspiracy against the life of Darnley, unless the queen’s written order or consent was forwarded to him. Bothwell promised him this document, and, as he was unable to fulfil his promise, Maitland sent the enigmatical message. The result of all these odious manœuvres was, that Morton, who feared not to coöperate openly in the murder of Rizzio, when he had the king’s warrant, feared to engage in the murder of the king without the queen’s warrant ; that Bothwell, to overcome his scruples, promised him this warrant, alleging that the queen would consent to the murder, although she knew nothing of it ; and that afterwards they would tell him the queen would not give the document. It is no less certain that Morton was aware of the plot, and did not reveal it ; that if he did not act

himself, he permitted, or caused to act as his substitute, this same Archibald Douglas, a reformed minister at Glasgow, noted for his audacity, immorality, and frightful libertinism; that, like Maitland, he foresaw that the assassination of Darnley would render Bothwell odious to the nation; that the Queen of Scotland, an accomplice or not of Bothwell, would share in the public hatred; that both would be ruined, and they themselves, profiting by their loss, would rise in power and share the regency.

Although it cannot be doubted that Murray knew all the details of the conspiracy, he had taken the precaution to be absent from Edinburgh some time before its execution, and withdrew to the county of Fife, in order to induce the Scots to believe that he was an entire stranger to the acts which would in a short time frighten them by their hideous character.

The small pox happened to be prevalent in Glasgow, and Darnley took the infection. Mary was soon informed of it, and sent her own physician to her husband, with a message that she would shortly visit him herself. She fulfilled her promise; their former affection seemed to revive; the generous Mary forgot all the injuries she had received from him, and they mutually promised

to think no more of the past. As soon as he was able to travel, the queen returned with him to Edinburgh, and, that he might enjoy a purer air than that of the capital, placed him in a house belonging to the provost of St. Mary's, known as the *Kirk of Field*.

The conspirators, noticing that harmony was fully reëstablished between the two consorts, — at least apparently, — began to fear for themselves. In one of those effusions of the soul which ordinarily follow a reconciliation, Darnley might speak of all that preceded the murder of Rizzio; Mary might, on her part, speak of the proposition made to her to be divorced from him; and if the two consorts united their resentment, there would be no safety for them in Scotland. The queen, indeed, visited her husband daily, gave him the most tender marks of esteem, and frequently slept in the room under his bed chamber. It was then urgent on the conspirators to hasten the execution of their plan, if they wished to prevent their own destruction.

It was known that the queen had promised to be present on the night of the 9th of February, at a masked ball in honor of the marriage of two of her servants. That night was therefore chosen by the conspirators for the execution of their

plot. They had procured false keys, by means of which they had gained access to the cellar of the house through a door in the city wall. Thither they transported a great quantity of gunpowder, and, after having made the necessary excavations, placed it under the angles of the house and especially under the bed chamber.

On the 9th of February, the queen went, as usual, to the Kirk of Field, with a numerous retinue. She remained in her husband's company from six until ten or eleven o'clock, and at her departure kissed him, and taking a ring from her finger, put it on his. She then returned to Holyrood by the light of torches. About two o'clock in the morning, Bothwell, wrapped in a large cloak, arrived by stealth at Kirk of Field, where his agents were before him. Two of the latter entered the house and fired the train with a slow match. As the match burned slowly, it is said that the impatient Bothwell, fearing that it had become extinguished, wished to enter the building to relight it. He was with difficulty restrained, when an instant after the explosion took place. The palace and city were shaken, and it was soon ascertained that the Kirk of Field had been blown up from the very foundation;

the corpse of the king and that of his page, Taylor, were found in the garden, whilst those of three men and a boy were buried in the ruins.*

CHAPTER VII.

PARTIES FORMED.—THE QUEEN IS CARRIED OFF BY BOTHWELL,
AND FORCED TO MARRY HIM.

THIS horrible assassination excited grief and indignation in Edinburgh. Bothwell was first suspected, and as the queen did not withhold her favor from him, she herself was not spared. To satisfy public opinion, she should have delivered up the malefactors to justice. But did she know these malefactors? Besides, was not she herself an accomplice of the malefactors? This is a question which has been keenly discussed between Mary's detractors and friends.

* To explain how the bodies of the king and Taylor had not been injured by the explosion, although both were lifeless, many persons are of opinion that they were first either strangled or smothered, and then thrown into the garden. Others only say that the bodies were preserved from injury by the beds. But how, then, would the beds have been found broken to pieces? and they must have been, since the entire building was blown up. Besides, is it not evident that the beds lifted by the explosion would have been crushed against the upper floors?—See Mary's statement in *Appendix*, No. 1.

But both have more than once allowed passion and feeling to predominate over discussion ; so that some in their blind hatred, others in their zealous flights, have been equally led into error or exaggeration. It should be observed, however, that in the murder of Darnley, there was nothing, absolutely nothing, in Mary's conduct to engender a single suspicion ; in her subsequent conduct there are facts which may be converted against her, although, on the other hand, they are explained by the difficulties and embarrassments of her position.

“ It is acknowledged by all, that the queen acted, at first, as an innocent woman would have acted.* She lamented the fate of a husband to whom she had been so lately reconciled. She expressed a suspicion that it had been intended to involve her in the same destruction ; and she repeatedly announced her resolution to take ample vengeance on the authors of so flagitious a crime. Her chamber was hung in black ; the light of the day was excluded ; and in darkness and solitude she received the few who were admitted to offer their respects and condolence. Letters describing the manner of the murder, the state of her mind, and the measures she

* Dr. Lingard.

intended to pursue, were written to the foreign courts ; and a proclamation was issued, offering rewards in money and land for the discovery and apprehension of the murderers, with a full pardon to any one of the party who would accuse his accomplices. . . . In Edinburgh, inquiries were made ; much was discovered to implicate Bothwell and his servants as the actual assassins, and the charge was openly brought against him in anonymous ‘bills,’ affixed, during the darkness of the night, in the most public part of the city. In a few days, the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, came forward, and a correspondence of some interest took place between him and the queen. At his request, she summoned a Parliament : Bothwell and some others were accused by him of the murder. But on the eve of ‘the assize’ Lennox wrote from Stirling to request an adjournment. . . . The Earl of Murray with his usual caution, had solicited leave to travel, and, intrusting his interests to the care of Bothwell, departed from Edinburgh on his way to France.

“ Whatever motives Lennox might allege for his absence, it is evident that he was intimidated by the superior power of Bothwell, and by the association in his support. On this account he

had already solicited the mediation of the Queen of England; and Elizabeth instantly despatched a messenger to Scotland with a letter, which did equal honor to her head and her heart.* Had it been perused by Mary before the trial, it would probably have opened her eyes to the abyss which yawned before her; but there is reason to believe that it was not suffered to reach the hands of that unfortunate princess until after the acquittal of the accused.

“The provost of Berwick, the bearer of the letter, had reached Holyrood House at an early hour in the morning. But the object of his mission was already known; he was treated with incivility, and could procure no one to inform Mary of his arrival. After a delay of some hours, Maitland took the letter, and returned with an answer, that the queen was still in bed, and that no one durst disturb her repose. Bothwell immediately proceeded to the Tolbooth, surrounded by two hundred soldiers and four thousand gentlemen. Maitland rode by his side; Morton accompanied him, and supported his cause; the

* To her head, in good place; but to her heart! We have very little faith in the heart of Elizabeth; the most wicked woman, with genius, will affect to have the best heart in the world. Thus it was with Elizabeth.

Earl of Argyle presided as hereditary justiciary of Scotland. A motion to postpone the trial for forty days was made and rejected; and as no prosecutor appeared, the jury, having heard the indictment, returned a verdict in favor of the accused. He immediately affixed a paper to the cross, in which he reasserted his innocence, and offered to fight, in single combat, against any native of Scotland, France, or England, who would dare to charge him with the murder. [Kirkaldi of the Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and Lord Lindsay of the Byres, successively accepted this challenge; but Bothwell always found some pretext by which to elude the combat.]

“To clear herself from suspicion, it was incumbent on the queen to bring the real assassins to justice. This had been remarked to her by Elizabeth; it had been urged in the most impressive terms by her ambassador at Paris, and it had, on more than one occasion, been acknowledged by Mary herself. But how, her adversaries ask, did she proceed? She refused the reasonable petition of her father-in-law; she granted Bothwell a collusive trial; and she persisted in maintaining his innocence on the credit of an acquittal, which, to every impartial observer, furnished additional confirmation of his

guilt. Would she have acted in a manner so fatal to her reputation, had she not been impelled by some powerful motive, such as consciousness of crime, or a licentious passion for the person of the murderer? In reply, her advocates remark, that she was a young and defenceless woman in the hands of a faction; that she could receive no information, could adopt no measure, but through the medium of her council; and that this council was composed of the very persons who had planned the murder, or directed its execution, or given bonds to screen the perpetrators from punishment. It was no wonder, then, if under such circumstances, and surrounded by such interested and unprincipled advisers, she was taught to believe that Bothwell was innocent, that the accusation had been suggested by the malice of his enemies, and that Lennox requested a delay because he found himself unable to substantiate the charge.*

* We are far from believing Mary guilty of complicity; but we do not believe her here entirely undeserving of reproach. It is very true that she was surrounded only by the accomplices of Bothwell; but she was aware that these men had been upon all occasions her enraged enemies: she should then have been on her guard against them. Had she been but an ordinary woman, she would have had no means of escaping from the influence of the confederates; but she had shown sufficient determination under other circumstances to

“ Two days after the trial the Parliament was opened, and its proceedings appear to cast some light on the real object of those who had procured the death of Darnley. Though Mary had reigned but a short time, she had already bestowed, at the solicitation of her ministers, two thirds of the property of the crown on them and their adherents. They held, however, these acquisitions by a precarious tenure, as the law of Scotland gave the sovereign the power of revoking all such grants at any time, before he or she had reached the age of twenty-five years. It was known that the late king had expressed himself with much warmth against the improvident bounty of his wife. During the preceding April, Mary had made a partial revocation; and, as

justify one in expecting more from her in the most trying position in which she had yet been placed. Why did she, in this case, oppose Lennox? Lennox and his friends, sustained by the queen, would have certainly been supported by the people, who, in spite of the verdict of acquittal, obstinately persisted in regarding Bothwell as the real assassin of Darnley. Besides, why permit a verdict to be rendered in the absence of the accuser, especially when so short a time was allowed him to collect his evidence? (He was notified on the 28th of March for the 12th of April.) If Bothwell was actually innocent, what had he to fear from a postponed trial? Alas! when Mary herself was subsequently accused by Murray, Morton, and Maitland, those miserable accomplices of Bothwell, how she regretted not having shown more determination in aiding Lennox to ferret out and convict the murderers of her husband!

the present was the last year in which she could exercise that right, there could be little doubt that Darnley, had he lived, would have urged her to a general act of resumption. The great object of the lords was to take away the very possibility of such a measure. In the short space of three days, the lands forfeited by Huntley were restored, the grants made to Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Crawford, Caithness, Rothes, Semple, Herries, Maitland, and others, were confirmed; and the power of revocation was taken both from the queen and her successors. In addition, the act abolishing the papal jurisdiction, which had been made by the convention in 1560, but had never received the royal assent, was now ratified; but to it was appended, probably to silence the objections of the queen, a permission for all Scotsmen to serve God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

“The next proceeding unfolds to us another and important part of the original conspiracy. When Bothwell undertook to murder the husband, he appears to have demanded, as the price of his services, the hand of the widow. On the day after the dissolution of Parliament, twenty-four of the principal peers, comprising as well those who had been distinguished by

their loyalty as those who had repeatedly borne arms against their sovereign, assembled and subscribed a new bond. They were made to assert their belief of the innocence of Bothwell; they obliged themselves to defend him against all calumniators, with their bodies, heritages, and goods; and they promised upon their consciences, and as they would answer to the eternal God, to promote a marriage between him and the queen, as soon as it could be done by law, and she might think convenient; and for that purpose to aid him with their votes, their lives, and their goods, against all mortals whomsoever. A more disgraceful association does not sully the page of history.

“ The next day, Mary rode to Stirling. * * *

On her return, she had reached the Foulbriggs, half a mile from the Castle of Edinburgh, when she was met by Bothwell at the head of one thousand horse. To resist would have been fruitless; and the queen, with her attendants, the Earl of Huntley, Maitland, and Melville, was conducted to the Castle of Dunbar. On the following morning Huntley and Maitland were liberated; the queen was detained ten days longer; nor did she leave the walls of Dunbar until she had consented to become the wife of Bothwell.

“ To explain this extraordinary transaction, her enemies represent it as a collusion between the parties. They had long been lovers; they wished to marry; and a show of violence was made to save the reputation of the queen.* It is, however, but fair to listen to her own story. Mary tells us, that previously to her visit to Stirling, Bothwell had dropped some hints of marriage, but received so resolute an answer as convinced him that force alone could win her consent. On her return towards Edinburgh, he seized her person, and conducted her against her will to Dunbar. There he renewed his suit with more earnestness, conjured her to attribute his violence to the ardor of his affection, and laid before her the bond of the lords with their respective signatures. Mary perused it with astonish-

* It is worthy of remark that this collusion was not spoken of by Mary's enemies until many months afterwards. In their different proclamations, and in the act of Parliament against Bothwell, they considered her captivity as real, and effected by superior force. To prove the collusion, they produced a paper said to have been written or signed by her, and purporting to be a license to the lords to subscribe the bond on the 20th of April. Now, if this license was genuine, no appearance of force would have been necessary; she had already declared to the whole nobility of Scotland that she was willing to marry the earl. If it was not, how can we assent to an hypothesis, the framers of which were compelled to commit an act of forgery for its support.

ment and dismay; yet her repugnance was not subdued. It did not arise, if we may believe her own assertion, from any suspicion that the earl had been guilty of the murder of Darnley, — she had been taught, by all around her, to believe the charge groundless and vexatious, — but she considered the match unequal, and the proposal premature; and she wished, before she entered on another marriage, to take the advice of her friends, both at home and abroad. She had at first cherished a hope that the news of the outrage would summon an army of loyal subjects to rescue her from her prison; but day passed after day; no sword was drawn in her cause, no attempt made in her favor; the apathy of the lords proved to her that the bond was genuine, and that she was a captive in the hands of an audacious subject. Bothwell insensibly assumed a more decisive tone; ‘nor did he cease till, by persuasion and importunate suite, accompanied with force, he had driven her to end the work.’* The meaning of the words ‘accompanied with force,’ she has not explained: Melville, her servant and fellow-prisoner, assures us that it was the violation of her person.†

* Anderson, i. 89, 102.

† Melville’s testimony is corroborated by that of Mary’s enemies,

“Bothwell now left the fortress ; but it was to conduct the captive queen from one prison to another, from the Castle of Dunbar to that of Edinburgh. Here she pleaded for time, that she might obtain the consent of the King of France, and of her relations of the house of Guise. But his ambition was too impatient to run the hazard of delay. The only remaining obstacle, his existing marriage with Janet Gordon, sister to the Earl of Huntley, was in a few days removed. Both had already sued for a divorce, she on the ground of adultery in the consistorial, he on that of consanguinity in the archiepiscopal court : in both a favorable judgment was pronounced ; and it was hoped that the objections of the Protestants would be silenced by the decision of the one, those of the Catholics by that of the other. Exactly one month after his trial, Bothwell led the queen to the Court of Session, where, in the presence of the judges, she forgave him the forcible abduction of her person, and declared that he had restored her to the full enjoyment of liberty : the next day she created him Duke of Orkney ; and having granted a pardon to the

who say she was compelled “ to become his bedfellow by force, fear, and, (as by many conjectures may well be suspected,) by other extraordinary and unlawful means.”

lords who had subscribed the bond, was married to him by a reformed minister, in the hall of Holyrood House, (15th of May.) Still, however, she remained a prisoner. Guards continually watched the passages leading to her apartments : no person could obtain access to her, except in the presence of Bothwell ; and the harsh treatment which she daily experienced convinced her that she had given herself a cruel and imperious master. The unhappy queen was often discovered in tears. Her present sufferings taught her to perceive and lament her past indiscretion : she could have no idea of that long train of evils with which it was to be followed."

The foregoing is a very correct narration of the facts which preceded, accompanied, or followed the death of Darnley ; and the historian whom we have cited allows the reader to draw his own conclusion in the great question of Mary's culpability. We will not imitate the English historian in his reserve, probably caused by circumstances of which he should be the only judge ; and we fear not to say, with the greatest conviction, that it appears demonstrated to us that Mary was entirely innocent of the murder of Darnley ; but after the death of her unfortunate consort, she might be reproached with

great weakness towards him whom public opinion had designated as the assassin.

It is certain that Murray, Maitland, and three others, one of whom was Bothwell, proposed a divorce to her; that at first the idea of recovering her liberty pleased her; but a moment after she repelled the insidious offer, and in so peremptory a manner, that this first plan of the conspirators was abandoned, and they resolved upon a second, the murder of Darnley. Now, we ask, can it be belived that there exists, that there could exist, a woman, who, dissatisfied with her husband, and able to be separated from him by a legal divorce, would choose rather to be separated by assassination? If we then reflect that this woman had been educated with much care, that she was firmly attached to the Catholic religion, and that she was queen, the thing will appear yet more unlikely. The pages of history are full of examples of divorce between sovereigns: how many marriages have been annulled on account of relationship, distant enough! Mary Stuart and Darnley were both grandchildren of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., and consequently cousin-germans. Supposing that Mary had had any scruple about pronouncing a divorce, as contrary to her religious principles,

this scruple would have vanished before a decision of the church pronouncing the nullity of the marriage. But to refuse a divorce and order assassination! that would be too horrible; it would be necessary to be a tiger in wrath, and Mary was only reproached with exhibiting too much goodness. We do not hesitate, then, to say that it is false that Mary knew of the second plan of the conspirators, and still more so that she aided it.

The lords themselves, before concluding on the assassination, had endeavored to obtain what they desired by more pleasant means — to deprive Darnley of the power to injure them; and for that purpose he must either be reduced to his former station or be assassinated. Darnley had blamed his wife much for having alienated, by concessions, the greater part of the royal domain. He urged her to revoke those grants. The divorce would have left Darnley without influence, and Mary's liberal disposition was well enough known to allow the belief that, left to herself, she would by no means dream of using her privilege: should this fail, it would be necessary to use some other means. And what the lords would have done — prefer divorce to assassination — Darnley's consort, the queen, would not

have desired! she would have preferred assassination to a divorce! No, it is not possible; Mary was not bloodthirsty.

If Mary had absolutely wished the death of her husband, would she not have made use of other means than that employed? Darnley was ill, the small pox often very dangerous or mortal. Instead of sending him her physician, of repairing herself to Glasgow to administer to his comfort, would she not have permitted the malady to take its course, to which, perhaps, he would have succumbed; and if nature triumphed over the disease, could she not have found in Scotland some infamous Locuste, whose black art would have struck the victim, without leaving it to be seen by what hand the blow was given?

We should not forget that Mary had passed the evening with her husband; that from thence she had gone to the ball, where she remained until the explosion took place. What! it would have been with an infernal project in her soul, her heart filled with an execrable desire, that Mary would have appeared at this place of amusement! By taking part in a fête given on the occasion of a marriage, she would have performed the overture in the execution of a crime, by which her own marriage would be destroyed.

No ; so much villany enters not suddenly into the human heart.

We do not believe that Bothwell was loved by the queen during Darnley's life, but it appears to us that she was aware of his love ; perhaps she had shown him marks of gratitude, which Bothwell, in his presumption, took for a more tender feeling. When public opinion accused Bothwell of the crime, she might have been ignorant of it, for she only knew what passed abroad through the medium of Bothwell's associates ; but the moment Lennox appeared as his accuser, her duty, we have already said, was to join him. It is possible that she did not believe Bothwell guilty ; but he was accused, and an innocent person is seldom accused. Mary must have at least doubted, and in so grave a matter her doubts should have been resolved. A verdict of acquittal awarded in the absence of proof, because the accuser has not had time for preparation, proves absolutely nothing in favor of the innocence of the accused ; the precipitation with which the verdict was rendered, the force displayed by Bothwell, and the peremptory defect in the examination, are, on the contrary, veritable charges.

And Mary consented to become the wife of

such a man! O, let us commiserate, deplore the blind passion which inveigled her. It is, undoubtedly, probable, that when Bothwell held her captive in the Castle of Dunbar, he used violence towards her, which violence was yet another crime; and when he conducted her to the court of assizes, that she might declare that she pardoned him, she should have demanded revenge; she should have remembered that she was a queen, only three months a widow, and that he, whom she loaded with favors, had been accused of murder, and was not exculpated.

We will say no more on this point, as it is the only stain on the whole life of Mary, and she expiated it so painfully that we have only place in our heart for compassion.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST BOTHWELL AND MARY. — SHE IS CONFINED IN A CASTLE, FROM WHENCE SHE ESCAPES. — SHE SEEKS AN ASYLUM IN ENGLAND, AND FINDS ONLY A PRISON.

OF the twenty-four lords who signed the bond in favor of Bothwell's marriage, there were many, who, though not in the secret of the murder, had

been induced to do so through fear or interest; but when they saw that, in contempt of the clause added to the recommendation they had made the queen to marry Bothwell,* he had violently possessed himself of her person, they repented of their condescension, and held many meetings to concert measures to wrest from Bothwell his usurped power. Those who had been privy to the plot, such as Morton and Maitland, were also convinced, that unless they joined the former in overthrowing Bothwell, they would be regarded as his accomplices, and made to share his infamy. The Earls of Morton, Marr, and Athol, Lords Home, Semple, and Lindsay, the Lairds of Tullibardin and Grange, met at Stirling, and were joined by the Lords of Montrose, Glencairn, Ruthven, and Sinclair.

Receiving timely warning of their project, the queen and her husband escaped by a rapid flight to Dunbar.† The conspirators then took the

* This clause was thus expressed: "As soon as it could be done by law, and she might think convenient."

† Laing, nevertheless, relates, according to a letter of Beton, that Bothwell escaped in the morning from Borthwick, whereas Mary remained there all day, and at night rode away in male attire, and was met by Bothwell at a short distance, who conveyed her to Dunbar. If this is true, it proves that the queen was unwilling to be separated from Bothwell.

road to Edinburgh, and entered masters of it. They immediately published a proclamation, in which they accused the earl of the murder of Darnley, the treasonable seizure and marriage of the queen, and an intention of gaining possession of the young prince, that he might murder the heir apparent, as he had already murdered his father. A few days after, (15th of June,) Bothwell, having collected his friends, met the numerous body of insurgents on Carberry Hill, a short distance from the capital. The two armies remained in sight from nine in the morning until night. The French agent, Le Croc, interposed his mediation. It is said that the queen would have given the signal to engage, but amongst those who had taken arms in her defence, there was a great number who were little disposed to fight for Bothwell. She was aware that the Hamiltons had levied troops to come to her assistance, but they were yet far off. The queen then offered a full and general pardon to the insurgents, provided they disbanded their forces: they replied, requiring of her to come over to the nobility, and leave Bothwell to suffer the punishment of his crime.

It appears that the queen would not consent, by which her cause was ruined. Bothwell offered

to fight in single combat with Morton, or any one of his accusers. His challenge was accepted; but Bothwell, taken at his word, found some means to release himself without drawing his sword. At length it was agreed that Bothwell should retire without molestation; that the queen should return to Edinburgh, and that the conspirators should pay to her that honor and obedience which was due to the sovereign. After the departure of Bothwell, she gave her hand to Kirkaldy of Grange, and was by him conducted into the midst of his colleagues; in whose name Morton, bending his knee, said, "This, madam, is the place where you ought to be; and we will honor, serve, and obey you, as ever the nobility of this realm did any of your progenitors." This was but bitter derision, for her dethronement and the establishment of a regency had been already determined upon; and it is evident that Bothwell, in defending himself, would not have failed to accuse Murray, Morton, Maitland, and others.*

* Some days after, to satisfy public opinion and quiet the murmurs caused by the impunity granted to Bothwell, the confederates pretended to pursue him. It was ascertained that he had taken refuge at Lerwick, upon the sea shore, and Kirkaldy of the Grange was sent from Edinburgh to Lerwick with two vessels; Bothwell's vessel left the bay as Kirkaldy was entering it. Not daring to return to Scotland, and likewise fearing that he would be delivered up by the continental

An hour had scarcely elapsed, when the queen perceived that she was a prisoner in the hands of her inveterate enemies. On entering Edinburgh, she was met by an excited populace; her ears were assailed with frightful imprecations, whilst before her eyes was waved a banner, representing the inanimate body of her husband, and her son on his knees, exclaiming, "*O my God, revenge my cause!*" The queen expected to be conducted to the palace; but they lodged, or rather confined, her in a chamber of the house of the provost, with orders that no one, not even her maids, should have access to her. For

powers, Bothwell, it is said, became a pirate—a noble manner of crowning his life. Danish vessels having attacked and forced him to yield, he was conducted to the Castle of Malmay, where he was closely confined. He died there in November or December, 1607. We are assured that upon his death bed he acknowledged himself guilty of the assassination of Darnley, designating Murray and Morton as his accomplices; he added, that the queen was wholly innocent of the crime. This declaration from such a man as Bothwell would deserve little confidence, were it not confirmed by a thousand other presumptions from higher sources. It is less easy to prove that Mary was not informed by Bothwell himself, when he was in power, of his commission of the crime. If Bothwell acknowledged it, Mary had not the same horror for the murderer that the Empress Eudoxia had for the assassin of Valentinian, her husband. This parvenu to the empire, after having assassinated the emperor, and compelled the empress to marry him, boasted of what he had done. Eudoxia incited the Vandals to come to Rome, and Maximus was stoned to death by the people.

twenty-two hours the unfortunate queen was a prey to the most lively anguish. From the street she was often seen at the casement of the chamber calling upon the citizens of Edinburgh to come to her assistance, and, bathed in tears, and her hair and clothes in disorder, conjuring those who could hear her to deliver her.*

The insurgents, before putting their project into execution, had sought to secure the coöperation of the Queen of England, but she formally refused to send them troops; she only permitted the Earl of Bedford to stop at Berwick and from thence protect the insurgents; but Cecil went

* In Keith's old English may be read the description of the deplorable state in which the monsters—who knew well that she was innocent of the murder, since it was their own work—left the unfortunate Mary during the night of the 16th and all the next day; they affected to treat her with so much cruelty only to make the people believe that they were firmly persuaded that she was guilty, and thus avert from themselves any suspicion which might be directed towards them. “Sche came yesterday to ane windo of hir chalmer, that lukkit on the hiegait, and cryit forth on the pepill, quhow sche was haldin, and keepit be hir awin subjects, quha had betrayit hir. Sche came to the said windo sundrie tymes in sa miserable a stait, hir hairs hangand about hir loggs, and hir breest, yea the maist pairt of all hir bodie, fra the waist up, bair and discoverit, that na man could luk upon hir bot sche movit him to pitie and compassion. For my ain part I was satisfieit to heir of it, and meight not suffer to see it.” According to Laing, Mary accused Maitland and Kirkaldy; Randolph, who is surely not suspected, reproached them with it very plainly.

much farther, and, although he made no exact engagements, he urged the confederate lords with all his influence to overthrow Bothwell, if they did not wish to be considered his accomplices. When Elizabeth, however, learned what was passing, she appeared very much incensed. The insult offered to the Queen of Scotland was, she contended, common to every crowned head; it resulted from the doctrines of Knox, which she had so often condemned: it required immediate and exemplary punishment, that subjects might learn to respect the persons of their sovereigns. She sent Throckmorton to Scotland to demand Mary's liberation, to pray the queen to pardon the rebels, and to ask formally that the young prince should be confided to his godmother and sent to England, as the only place where his life would be in safety.

This was, perhaps, the only time that Elizabeth was sincere; and unfortunately, the perfidious Cecil rendered of no avail the good wishes of his mistress. When Throckmorton arrived in Edinburgh, the queen was no longer there. The conspirators, who had remarked among the citizens and mechanics of the capital a return of affection for Mary,—a return caused by her lamentations, and perhaps by the barbarous treat-

ment she had to undergo,—judged it apropos to remove Mary from the capital, as the only means of preventing the reaction which they feared. About nine o'clock in the evening, on the day after that on which Morton had sworn on his knees to serve and obey her, she was conducted to Holyrood, whence, in about an hour, they transferred her under escort to the Castle of Lochleven, situated in the middle of a lake. Morton rode on one side of the queen, the Earl of Athol on the other; and at some distance from Edinburgh, they delivered her to the custody of Lindsay and Ruthven, by whom she was led to prison. The castle belonged to William Douglas, uterine brother of Murray, and heir presumptive to Morton.

Throckmorton implored the queen's liberty, yet consented to wait for an answer until all the lords should be assembled at Edinburgh. He then asked permission to see the queen, but acquiesced in a refusal when informed that a similar request from the French ambassador had been refused; but whilst letters passed between him and Cecil, the lords devised three instruments, which were forwarded to the brutal Lindsay for the queen's signature. The first contained her abdication in favor of her son; the

second, Murray's appointment to the regency ; and the third, the appointment of a council of lords to govern the kingdom in case of the absence or death of the regent. With Lindsay was sent Robert Melville, with letters both from Throckmorton and some of the conspirators, who pretended to be *her secret friends*, advising her to consent without hesitation, because no deeds executed under such circumstances could be considered binding in law. That was true, but the confederates confidently hoped that her situation would never change.

She had not yet read all these letters when Lindsay entered abruptly and presented her the three instruments, ordering her to sign them, if she did not wish to perish on the scaffold as the assassin of her husband. The unhappy queen burst into tears, but the insensible Scot was not affected by her tears ; so that, believing her life threatened, she took the pen and signed. “ *They threatened to kill me if I did not sign,*” (*Ils m'ont menacée de me tuer, si je ne sygnoys,*) wrote Mary herself, a short time after. The prince was anointed and crowned immediately after the signature, and Murray hastened to leave France, whither he had repaired before the sentence of Bothwell. But before assuming the regency, he



BELIEVING HER LIFE THREATENED, SHE TOOK THE PEN AND SIGNED.

visited the queen in her prison, that he might say that the queen had conjured him to accept the regency. Murray owed every thing to his sister; she had pardoned his revolt, she had returned favors for his ingratitude. When his arrival was announced, she believed for an instant that she had reclaimed him to her, and a gleam of hope illumined her heart. But in vain did she load him with tender caresses, in vain she wept, in vain she bathed his hands with her burning tears. Murray was armed with rigor, harshness, barbarity; he loaded the unfortunate woman with reproaches, and — what can be neither written nor read without indignation and disgust — this miserable Murray, the principal instigator of Darnley's assassination, durst show his sister the bar and the scaffold in perspective. The next morning he again saw her, and this time appeared to pity her misfortunes; and the poor Mary, embracing him with every effusion of gratitude, conjured him to accept the regency, the only means, she said, of saving her own life and that of her son. It was to draw from his sister this request that Murray had appeared to relent after having terrified her by his gloomy threats. He assented, after several refusals; and, before leaving, he recommended her to use great circumspection,

and particularly not to attempt to escape, or raise any disturbance against the government, as it would be then out of his power to screen her from punishment. In a note which he addressed (22d of August) to the ambassadors of foreign powers, he states that, moved by the tears and prayers of his sister, no less that *through obedience to her*, he had consented to be burdened with the weight of the regency.

The confederates, after the example of Murray, made public declarations, which they often renewed, and in which they called falsehood and deceit to the aid of their disingenuous conduct, to palliate all that was odious in it. They pretended they had offered Mary to obey her as their sovereign, provided she would abandon Bothwell to justice; that, upon her refusal, they had placed her in confinement, hoping that reflection would wean from her heart that guilty passion she had indulged; but instead of exhibiting signs of repentance, her obstinacy only seemed to increase, which endangered the safety of the young prince, of the lords, and of the state. Mary replied to these allegations by a manifesto, in which she proposed a convention of the three estates, to submit to them the questions of the punishment of the murderer, and

the validity of her marriage, promising to abide by their determination. It should be remarked that Throckmorton had been ordered to request this reunion of the three estates, but his request would not be heard.

It was only at the end of some months, (4th of December,) when a resolution was taken to accuse Mary of adultery and murder, that an important discovery was spoken of for the first time, which was, however, said to have been made as soon as the 20th of June. It concerned a silver casket which Mary had inherited from her first husband, and which, it is said, she had given to Bothwell: this casket, according to Morton, who had become the possessor of it, was taken upon the person of a servant of Bothwell, named Dalglish, and in this casket — this is Morton's statement — many letters from Mary to Bothwell, in her own handwriting, were found, proving an intimacy between them prior to the death of Darnley, and the consent of the queen to this death, and successively her marriage with the murderer.* The act of accusation was based upon the pretended result of the letters, and

* We will in another place revert to these letters, which, it is evident, were fabricated by Murray and his associates, and which the queen asserted were false.

Parliament adopted it without discussion, on the 10th of the same month; to this act was added another forfeiture against Bothwell. Let us remark, however, among the offences charged against him, this one: "The violence he employed, contrary to law, to compel his sovereign to marry him."

This Parliament, the worthy precursor of the Long English Parliament, and of the French National Convention, was so blinded by hatred that it was not perceived that the two acts were irreconcilable. If the letters upon which the first act was based were genuine, if she really entertained secret relations with Bothwell before the murder, it is fully evident that her removal and marriage were voluntary, and that Bothwell had had no need of using violence. Nevertheless, the fact of violence having been used appeared fully established, by all the documents emanating from the confederate lords since they had taken up arms; it was only to deliver the queen from acts of violence that they had reunited; whence followed the natural result, that the letters were not genuine. Otherwise, was there ever a more iniquitous manner of proceeding known? When the guilt of the vilest criminal is wished to be established by papers attrib-

uted to him, those papers are produced in his presence, he is allowed to disprove them if he can, and it is only when their authenticity has been fully established that they are admitted as evidence. Here, not only was she condemned without a hearing, but condemned on the evidence of letters which had not been avowed, and which bore on their face unequivocal signs of forgery.

Meanwhile the queen still groaned in close confinement, under the jealous eye of Lady Douglas, the mother of the regent, and the strict surveillance of Sir William Douglas, the proprietor of Lochleven. There Mary seemed totally forgotten; in vain, to recover her liberty, had she offered Murray and the council to ratify all their acts. They had resolved that she should never leave her prison alive. Nevertheless their will was not to be accomplished, and her beauty, affable manners, and even her misfortunes were resources which her enemies could not deprive her of. George Douglas, the brother of William, being moved with pity at the sight of so many misfortunes, and from compassion to a more tender sentiment, undertook to effect her escape, even at the peril of his life. By previous concert with Beton, a trusty servant of the queen,

who remained in a village adjacent to Lochleven, a laundress was introduced into the queen's chamber, who immediately exchanged clothes with the woman, and carrying on her head a bundle of linen, fortunately left the castle, and took a seat in the bateau which had brought the laundress, (25th of March, 1568.) Unfortunately, one of the rowers, with all the urbanity of a sailor of the 16th century, wished to put his hand beneath her muffler, when, to protect herself from this indiscreet act, she raised her arm, regardless of the consequences. One of the rowers immediately exclaimed, "That is neither the arm nor the hand of a washerwoman." Mary, being recognized, was conducted back to the castle; George Douglas was obliged to fly to escape the wrath of his brother and the regent; but he confided the success of the thwarted scheme to an orphan boy of sixteen years of age, a relation of the Douglas family, known as *the little Douglas*.

Lady Douglas and Sir William redoubled their vigilance; the former carried with her every evening while she supped the keys of the castle, and took great care to take them to her chamber. Five weeks had already elapsed since George's attempt; the youth was not suspected, and the

keys were laid upon the table whilst Lady Douglas took her supper. The youth adroitly took the keys, called the queen and one of her maids named Kennedy, led them without accident out of the castle, locked the door after them, and threw the keys into the lake. The two fugitives entered a bateau, which had been in readiness for some days; the preconcerted signal was given, and the oars being vigorously plied across the lake, they arrived safely on the beach, where they were received by George Douglas and Beton. Mary slept that night at Niddry, in a house belonging to Lord Seaton, and the next day at an early hour repaired to Hamilton Castle. There her first act was to revoke the resignation of the crown, which had been violently forced from her in the prison of Lochleven, (3d of May.) The news of the queen's deliverance spread with rapidity through the whole of Scotland, and the people received her with enthusiasm; for though easily led away, if left to themselves, they seldom fail to return to justice in a short time. All revolutions, in which the people serve only as the instrument, actually profit but a small number of individuals. The Scottish people knew well that Morton, Maitland, and all the other lords had only wished to overthrow Bothwell to

divide the spoils, and that Murray had only accused his sister to obtain the power and reign in the name of a two-year-old infant. On the other hand, the people remembered the beauty, grace, and goodness of Mary; her misfortunes also pleaded for her; as to her errors and wrongs, she had sufficiently expiated them.

The royalists crowded from all parts around their sovereign, who, in five or six days, was at the head of a numerous confederacy; nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and an infinite number of gentlemen, offered her their congratulations and services. It was then only, says Anderson, that the queen was informed of the whole truth relative to the murder of her second husband and the guilt of her third; she also offered her brother, who happened to be at Glasgow, to submit the cause of all their dissensions to a free Parliament, and to deliver up to justice any person whom he accused of the murder of Darnley, provided he would act likewise with those whom she might accuse. Morton and Maitland, much alarmed, proclaimed all of Mary's adherents traitors; and Murray, fully determined to maintain his usurpation, collected a small but disciplined band of followers. Followed by Morton, whose military talents he was acquainted with, and

Kirkaldy, a warrior of tried valor, he took a position on the heights of Langside, (13th of May,) at the base of which the queen must pass on her way to Dumbarton.

The Hamiltons, who formed the vanguard of the royalist army, consulting only their zeal, charged to force a passage. Their attack was fierce and the defence obstinate; the victory was undecided when Morton attacked the royalists in flank. This manœuvre, being vigorously executed, decided the contest, and the royalist army was completely routed. The queen beheld from Crookstone Castle the evil success of her arms, and fearing that she would be retaken by her enemies, she immediately mounted on horseback, and, accompanied by Lord Herries and several servants, rode, without stopping, to the abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, sixty miles from the unlucky field of battle. She was hotly pursued, but not overtaken.*

The next evening she resumed her flight, and the morning after declared her intention of seeking an asylum from her *good sister* of England. Her friends in vain opposed this fatal determination; they recalled to her mind the causes of rivalry which existed between her and the Queen

* See *Appendix*, No. 2.

of England, the constant bad faith of the latter, the assistance she had not ceased to furnish to the Scottish rebels, and the jealousy which had marked all her proceedings. They showed her that it was easy to cross to France, where she would be sure of finding, if not actual immediate assistance, at least the most favorable reception. Mary was immovable: it has been said an invisible hand impelled her to her own ruin. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's conjured her, on his knees, not to persist in a project the lamentable consequences of which he foresaw; Lord Herries and others joined the prelate. Mary appeared convinced by the letters of Elizabeth to her, that she would find protection, safety, and benevolence in England. She had received from Queen Elizabeth, long previously, a diamond ring, with the assurance that this ring would be a sign of alliance between the two *sisters*; and that if the Queen of Scotland ever needed assistance, she would only have to send her the ring. It was the means Mary took; Beton set out for London, commissioned by Mary to present the ring to the queen, whilst Mary herself, crossing the Solway Frith in a fishing boat, landed almost alone in the harbor of Workington, (16th of May,) whence she proceeded to Carlisle.

Mary's arrival in England was regarded by Cecil as a great victory; the prey which they had so long hunted had at last voluntarily cast herself into their toils; it was only necessary that she should be disengaged from them. But how he could give to his inimical designs an appearance of justice, was a grave matter of discussion in the council. To permit Mary to proceed to the continent, or obtain the assistance of a foreign prince, would be to risk all the advantages obtained by the treaty of Leith; if it was advisable to restore her the Scottish sceptre, it ought to be by Elizabeth's influence alone, and under restrictions which would leave her only a nominal authority; but to detain her in captivity for life would be the most conducive to the interest of the Queen of England and that of the reformed religion. Cecil was commissioned to accomplish this object.

As to the queen, it would be difficult to say what was her real intention; for she changed so often in this affair as in others, that it may be boldly affirmed that she was never of the same opinion more than a single day. When she was informed of the revolt of the confederates, she favored Mary's cause, because the insurrection of the Scottish lords might prove a bad enough

example for the English lords. In defending Mary, she indirectly defended herself; she demanded her liberty, and even refused to Murray the title of regent, and to the young prince that of king; but her minister rendered illusory all the measures she ordered to be taken, and acted nearly in an inverse sense. She was well aware that the Scots had complied with nought of what she had demanded, and she did not appear to notice it; all her zeal was extinguished; the ministers did as they listed, and Mary remained a prisoner. She now only saw in a proscribed princess, who asked an asylum of her, an odious rival, who had claims to her own crown, and who was her superior in beauty, if her friends must be believed; who was at least undeniably younger; who had a son, who would, one day, probably, occupy the English throne: she would not receive her as a friend; she would let Cecil act and approve every thing, provided appearances were saved.

Cecil was the very man to conduct so dishonorable an intrigue, with one great advantage — never did a minister possess a more crafty mind, nor one more fruitful in resources. He commenced by assuring Mary that Elizabeth would endeavor to reinstate her on her throne, provided

she would reject any other alliance, particularly that of France. If she would consent to that, they promised to employ themselves earnestly with her position, and would first endeavor to prevail upon her subjects to recognize her rights without effusion of blood; in case negotiations were useless, they would have recourse to arms; yet it was necessary that the Queen of Scotland should first justify herself of the accusations which had been laid to her charge. Mary assented to the latter condition, and to perform it, demanded an interview with Elizabeth

Cecil had not calculated upon this; an interview between the two queens might have the most grievous consequences for Murray and his associates, perhaps even for their English friends; and the scrupulous Cecil persuaded the scrupulous Elizabeth that a *virgin* queen, as she was, should not admit into her presence a queen accused of adultery and murder, and the virgin Elizabeth yielded unresistingly to this unanswerable argument. It was agreed that Mary should first of all be required to disprove the accusations of her enemies before an English council or commission; it could be *required*, for the crown of Scotland, since the time of Edward II., was subject to that of England. Mary tri-

umphantly answered all the sophisms of Cecil. She declared that she was an independent queen ; that she would never recognize supremacy in any other sovereign ; and that she intended to return to Scotland, or cross over to France. It was decreed that Mary should not leave England. At first her demand was evaded, then positively refused.

Mary then repented of not having followed the wise advice of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's ; but the evil was done, and she must be resigned. Nevertheless, she complained with no less force than bitterness of having been deceived. It was only after the positive assurances that Elizabeth had given her whilst she was still a prisoner at Lochleven, that she determined on proceeding to England rather than to France. It was very extraordinary that Elizabeth would refuse to see a queen, her relation, under the frivolous pretext of an unproved accusation, after having several times admitted to her presence Murray, the bastard son of James ; Murray, who was guilty of crimes deserving death. Moreover, it must not be expected that she would answer her accusers in prison ; they were her subjects, not her equals. Mary insisted on being restored to liberty.

Mary was right in complaining ; but her com-

plaints only reached Elizabeth through the unworthy voice of Cecil; she was not heard. Poor Mary! she did not suspect that between herself and the infamous minister of a false and treacherous queen a war to the knife had commenced; but in this struggle of the strong with the weak, neither equity, nor reason, nor good faith could triumph over force. The English ministers, after long consultation, decided that Mary could not be received at court until she had fully established her innocence, and that her request to leave the kingdom could not be granted, *without great danger to the kingdom and to religion*. But, as it would be easy for her to escape from Carlisle, it was determined that she should be immediately removed to Bolton.

CHAPTER IX.

TRIAL OF MARY. — THE YORK CONFERENCES. — ATTEMPTS TO
ESCAPE DISCOVERED.

To show grounds in the eyes of the public for so unjust a decision, the ministers alleged that Mary had, on the occasion of her first marriage, asserted her right to the throne of England, and that if she was at liberty, she would not fail to

do so still; that her advent to the throne, if it took place, would infallibly ruin the cause of Protestantism in Great Britain. The English ministers, therefore, persisted in requiring a trial, hoping to find means, if not to condemn her, at least to destroy her reputation. Mary indignantly repelled the idea of such a trial, as derogatory to her dignity. At length the subtlety of Cecil suggested an expedient, which equally served his purpose — a trial, not of Mary, but of her enemies; who, if they could justify their conduct to the satisfaction of certain English commissioners, should be allowed to retain their estates and honors; if not, should be abandoned to the justice or the mercy of their sovereign. Elizabeth would then engage, upon certain conditions, to reduce the Scots to obedience.

One of these conditions was, that Mary should abolish the mass in Scotland, and introduce English reform instead of the Presbyterian or republican kirk. Lord Herries urgently counselled Mary to agree to this condition. Sixteen lords of the queen's party* were consulted on the

* Among the Scottish lords, some desired that Mary, having been released from Bothwell, should resume her rights and sceptre; these were called the queen's lords. Those who, on the contrary, approved of the coronation of the king and the regency of Murray, were styled the king's lords.

subject, and they answered, that they referred the decision to Mary's prudence,* who gave a conditional consent. In her private instructions to her commissioners, she herself says, "Although I have been brought up in the religion which has been for so long that of my kingdom, . . . I will follow the counsel of my *dearest sister*, . . . and endeavor, as much as in me lieth, to introduce this opinion — Anglican reform — into my realm." Let us not blame Mary too much for this act of weakness, which she afterwards deplored, effacing her fault by bitter repentance.

Mary accepted this hard condition, involving, as it did, Cecil's plan. It was not without much repugnance that she gave her consent; she herself had to overcome the opposition and entreaties of her most faithful counsellors, who only beheld in the minister's plan a snare skilfully laid. But in order to be a judge of the motives which determined her, it must not be forgotten that she was in the flower of her age, unjustly

* It would have been better not to have answered. How could they refer such a matter to the prudence of a young woman, who had only lately committed imprudences, sometimes through goodness, sometimes through weakness; of a woman, who, burning with the very natural desire at her age to terminate an unjust captivity, and who, not having had much experience, would naturally seize with avidity every means offered her to break her chains?

detained a captive by the Queen of England, and that she hoped by concessions to hasten the moment of her restoration to liberty. The city of York was selected as the place of conference.

Mary, undoubtedly, only consented to this conference on the formal promise, that when it would be terminated, she would be replaced upon the throne. Here is a new proof of English ministerial loyalty: a promise of a similar nature, but of an opposite tendency, was made to Murray. Be that as it may, the English commissioners were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the confidant of Cecil. The Queen of Scotland was represented by Leslie, Bishop of Ross, Lords Livingstone, Boyd, and Herries, and three others. Murray appeared in person, with Morton, Lindsay, the Bishop of Orkney, and the Abbot of Dumfermlin, aided by Maitland and five other counsellors. Mary at first insisted that Elizabeth's promise to replace her on the throne should be expressed in the powers given to her commissioners; and Murray required a confirmation of the promise made by the ministry, that, in the event of Mary's conviction, she should not be allowed to return to Scotland. These contradictory demands showed the duplicity of the Eng-

lish ministry, which was evinced to a certainty by both being granted.

Mary's commissioners, as plaintiffs, set forth the charges against Murray and his associates; that they had risen in arms against their sovereign, had traitorously confined her in Lochleven, and had, by intimidation, compelled her to sign her abdication. Instead of attempting, as was expected, to justify himself by alleging that his sister had taken part in the murder of Darnley, Murray demanded to communicate in secret to the commissioners the proofs which he had in his possession of her guilt. He alleged that, laboring under a capital accusation, he did not wish to make use of these proofs against his sovereign without being previously assured of their efficacy. He then laid before the commissioners a translation of eight letters purporting to have been written by the queen to Bothwell, some previous, others subsequent, to the death of Darnley; two marriage contracts; and a collection of amatory sonnets, composed by Mary and addressed to her paramour. The commissioners did not give Murray a definite answer; but, at his request, they wrote to Elizabeth for additional instructions.

In every country where any principles of

justice exist, when papers attributed to a party are produced in a trial, and especially in a criminal trial, and use is desired to be made of them against their author, they are first shown to him, that they may be allowed or contested, and in this latter case be proved; for it is only after the authenticity of a paper has been established in some manner that its contents can have any weight in law. Murray in this case communicates the papers in private, and the commissioners should not have received them. If these letters were genuine, what had Murray to fear by producing them? Was it because he wished to spare his sister a public exposure? Was it not upon their evidence he contended that she would be condemned? In the hypothesis of the genuineness of these letters, would not their production have caused Mary or her commissioners to have instantly ended the trial? Would not Mary have borne any thing rather than suffer these letters to see the light? No; these letters were never the production of Mary; with that proof in his possession, Murray would have silenced his sister the first day. And then, why not produce the originals? Why a translation, perhaps very incorrect? This is not the mode of action taken when the truth is advanced.

The application of the English commissioners to their sovereign, asking of her supplementary instructions, necessarily delayed the proceedings: in order that the delay might not be remarked, or that the cause of it might not be suspected, Murray replied to the charge. He, as well as his friends, he said, had taken up arms against Bothwell, not against the queen; the queen had been imprisoned because she would not separate her cause from that of Bothwell; he had accepted, not extorted, her resignation. Mary's commissioners annihilated this feeble defence. Murray and his accomplices, says Anderson, afterwards acknowledged that their answer was but a fictitious plea. They had sworn, however, to proceed uprightly, to regard neither affection nor hatred, to speak without malice and without human respect, and to say only what they would say in God's presence. But what is an oath to men who laugh at the most sacred promises?

In the mean time, the king's lords, and the queen's lords, — at whose head was Chastelherault, who had returned from France, — earnestly desired a compromise. Murray knew well that a charge of murder against the queen would be rebuffed by a similar charge against all his associates; and he was well aware of the

feebleness of his proofs, as for proofs he had only these letters, which would evidently be denied, whilst the queen could furnish very strong evidence. The Earl of Sussex, one of the English commissioners, had said in express terms, "If the queen's adversaries accuse her of murder by producing her letters, she will deny them and accuse the most of them of manifest consent to the murder, which will be difficult to be denied; so that, both sides considered, the queen's proofs, I believe, will make her cause prevail." If Murray then reflected upon the consequences, the fact could not be concealed that if he failed he would be delivered to the vengeance of his justly irritated sister; that, even in case he succeeded, the sickly state of the young prince portended approaching death, by which he would gain nothing, as the crown would pass rightfully to the head of Chastelherault, his mortal enemy.

Hence Murray desired to abandon his proofs against the queen, declare her innocent by act of Parliament, and allow her a considerable revenue from Scotland, provided she would confirm her abdication and the regency, and in case she wished to retain the title of queen, consent to reside in England. Chastelherault, on the contrary, fearing the intrigues of Murray and the

pretensions of the house of Lennox, wished that the crown should be restored to Mary, that the prince should be educated under the care of Elizabeth, and that in the interim the government should be administered by a council or committee of noblemen, in which every man should have that place which became his rank. This was reserving the first place for himself, which caused the Earl of Sussex to remark, that all these men occupied themselves very little about the queen and the prince, her son, but they thought much of their own interests.

Maitland was commissioned by Murray to prevail on Mary to accede to his terms. He first assured the queen that he had only repaired to York to serve her; he then endeavored to make her sensible of the advantages of a compromise. The complaisant Maitland afterwards suggested to the Duke of Norfolk, on behalf of the regent, a marriage with Mary, assuring him in private that she was entirely innocent. He also intimated that a prompt arrangement would prevent the ministers from producing the defamatory documents. Lastly, he attempted to persuade the Bishop of Ross, that if Mary would confirm the abdication made at Lochleven, and marry

the Duke of Norfolk, the Queen of England would reinstate her on the throne.

The ministers were fully acquainted with the state of the conferences at York, the increasing embarrassment of Murray, as the moment approached to prefer the charges, the project of the Duke of Norfolk's marriage, and the multiplied intrigues of Maitland. This determined Cecil, instead of sending Murray a direct reply, to remove the conference to Westminster, that he might manage it to his liking by his immediate action. Under pretence that the points referred to in the discussion could not be elucidated by letter, Cecil required two commissioners from each party, accompanied by Sir Ralph Sadler, to repair to Westminster, that the queen might receive the necessary information by word of mouth. Thus closed the York conferences.

Murray had obtained leave to follow his commissioners to London, and he was even admitted to the presence of Elizabeth. This was an unworthy violation of promises already made; Mary also, who had hoped until now, saw a mysterious plot devised for her ruin. She wrote to her commissioners to require of the Queen of England that she might be confronted with her accuser in the presence of all the nobility and

foreign ambassadors ; and if so equitable a request was refused, they were enjoined to declare that their powers were withdrawn. The unfortunate Mary divined too well that the scandalous partiality of the government for Murray would end by giving the fatal stroke to her rights. The infamous Cecil promised Murray that the Queen of Scotland should never recover her authority, and that, if he commenced his suit, judgment would be pronounced in his favor.

Thus encouraged, Murray brought forward his charge, according to which Mary conceived, counselled, and ordered her husband to be assassinated, and afterwards her son, so as to place the crown upon the head of the murderer, (1st of December.) Mary's commissioners then requested of the queen, since she had admitted Murray into her presence, to give an audience to the Queen of Scots, that she might prove her innocence. The *virgin* Elizabeth answered, coldly, that this demand would require mature and grave reflection. When we write or read the recital of so many acts of injustice, duplicity, and perfidy, it is consoling to think that there exists a God, a rewarder and an avenger. An Elizabeth, because she is a queen ; a Cecil, because he is the minister of this impious queen ;

a Murray, a Morton, a Maitland, because they are in power — may escape the justice of men ; and their crimes will not be atoned for afterwards ! and their noble victim, offering to Heaven the sacrifice of her afflictions, will find after her but nought ! and her insensible ashes will mingle with the insensible ashes of her executioners ! O, no ! that will not be ; God, the avenger, Eternity, are there : I feel them in my heart.

Mary's commissioners fulfilled their mission with courage and perseverance, but their efforts were fruitless. Then, by the advice of Chastelherault and the French and Spanish ambassadors, they declared the conference dissolved. But Cecil refused to accept their declaration, on the ground that they had misunderstood the queen's answer. Not to create difficulties, the commissioners rectified what Cecil termed inaccuracy ; but three days had elapsed, and during the interval of the 6th to the 9th of December, Murray had laid before the commissioners the pretended papers. Cecil immediately summoned the leaders of the English nobility, that they might perform their part by the letters produced by Murray. When these papers had been sufficiently examined, Cecil did not ask the English lords to

declare their opinion or pronounce on the authenticity of these writings. They were merely told that Mary had demanded an audience with Elizabeth to reply to the charge; but he added, that Elizabeth feared that her *modesty* — what mockery! — would suffer from such an interview. No one durst express their disapprobation, and Mary's commissioners were informed that, under the present circumstances, nothing but a glorious justification could save their mistress from infamy; but that this justification could not take place before a maiden queen!

It does not appear to have ever been Cecil's intention to obtain a final decision. He only wished to get possession of the letters produced, that Mary, aware that their publication or suppression depended upon Elizabeth, would yield more easily to what he required of her; but Mary's resolution disconcerted Cecil and his associates. She demanded that copies of the papers should be given to her commissioners, that she might examine them, and even promised to name among her accusers two of the murderers of her husband, (Morton and Maitland,) provided she was allowed access to Elizabeth. The Bishop of Ross having obtained an audience from the latter, (7th of January, 1569,) to obtain a

copy of the papers, Elizabeth informed him that Mary would do well to resign her crown, and peaceably end her days in England. The bishop replied, that his mistress would not consent to this sacrifice; but Elizabeth persisted in her refusal, and the interview terminated. Murray and his associates departed for Scotland, bearing a declaration, that as nothing could be proved against them which could sully their reputation or honor, so no sufficient reason had been given why Elizabeth should entertain any evil opinion of the conduct of the queen, her good sister. The Bishop of Ross then demanded that his mistress be treated with the same courtesy that had been extended to Murray; if she was to be detained a captive in England, he wished to protest in her name against the validity of any act which should be subscribed by her whilst she was under restraint.

Mary's enemies contend that if at the York conference Mary had maintained a decided superiority over her accusers, she yielded this advantage at Westminster, by refusing to offer any defence except before the queen. Cecil had said that Mary would not have so earnestly demanded admittance to the presence of Elizabeth, had she not known that her request would be

refused. To this objection it is triumphantly answered that Mary only claimed what was just and reasonable; that it was more than strange that she was confined two hundred miles from the place of trial, whilst Murray was present, and obtained from the queen as many private audiences as he requested. It is certain that Cecil, no longer knowing to what means to recur, broke up the conference without concluding any thing, and that he always evaded the request which Mary made for a copy of the papers.

It is recollected that Maitland had spoken to Mary of a marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. The duke, whether he feared incurring the wrath of Elizabeth, or that he attached very little importance to Maitland's proposition, made no advances; but Murray, before his departure, renewed this intrigue. He sent Robert Melville to his sister, and waited in person on the duke. The only means, he said, of securing the tranquillity of the two kingdoms, was the marriage of the Queen of Scots with a Protestant lord, and no other could so easily gain the assent of all parties as the duke. Norfolk answered, that he could not determine without consulting his sovereign; Mary, that she would give no answer whilst she remained a captive. If her liberty and

authority were restored to her, she would listen to his advice, and always prove a good sister.

It must not be imagined that Murray acted on this occasion for his sister's interest ; it was his own. He knew that the queen's lords had assembled on the borders, to prevent him from reëntering the kingdom ; and that many English lords of the northern counties were leagued together to intercept him in Yorkshire. Through the message of Robert Melville, he induced his sister to believe that he was eager to restore her to liberty, and he obtained in exchange an order from her to the Scottish lords not to oppose his passage. Mary was then at Rippon ; Elizabeth, who had permitted Murray and his accomplices to return to Scotland, should have—to show herself just, supposing that she had the right to constitute herself judge of the Queen of Scotland—allowed her the same privilege. But instead thereof, and as if Mary had been her subject, and guilty towards her, Elizabeth redoubled her severity. Not believing her prey sufficiently guarded, she had her transferred to the heart of England, placed her at first under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, transported her from castle to castle, and sent her later to Tutbury, where she was imprisoned in a house built of wood,

originally designed for a hunting seat, and surrounded by a lofty wall, which in a great measure excluded the sun.*

A description of this residence is given in one of Mary's letters, published in the Life of Lord Egerton. She had but two small rooms (*petites chambrettes*) for herself and maids; the walls were pierced with fissures, the plaster having in many places separated from the timber; and though they intrenched themselves behind screens, curtains, and blankets, they were always ill with colds. She had no place where she could walk under cover in the house; and no rooms, to which she could retire, but two little closets, (*petits trous*,) about seven feet square, looking on the wall. The house was crowded with guards, valets, &c., without any convenience for so numerous a family, and the privies under her window exhaled an infectious odor which could not be removed.

It was from this horrible abode that she wrote many letters to Elizabeth, which, if she had not carried egotism so far as to render her a stranger to every sentiment of humanity, would have moved her to compassion, and caused her to regret her past severity. Foreign powers com-

* See *Appendix*, No. 10.

plained; but Elizabeth answered, that she should be praised for her indulgence, instead of being blamed for severity; for she had, *to Mary's interest*, suppressed documents which would have covered her with everlasting infamy.

Meanwhile, several English lords, who had approved of the plan of a marriage between Mary and Norfolk, resumed the project, and finally obtained the duke's consent; he had at first obstinately refused, because he feared the vindictive Elizabeth. When the question of the marriage was first mentioned, Elizabeth spoke in such a manner as to make him understand that it could not take place without her consent; and the duke answered as lightly, that he would never marry a woman whose husband *cannot sleep securely on his pillow*. Nevertheless, as on one side this union flattered his vanity, and on the other he noticed among the lords who urged him the Earl of Leicester and the famous Throckmorton, he gave his unqualified consent.

A letter, signed by Norfolk and the Earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, was sent to the Queen of Scotland, in which they proposed restoring her to her throne, and recognizing her rights to the succession in England, on condition that she would never impugn the right of Eliza-

beth, or her direct heirs ; that she would conclude a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, with England ; that she would pardon her revolted subjects, and marry the Duke of Norfolk. Mary answered, that she would willingly agree to every thing, provided they would obtain the queen's consent to the marriage ; for by marrying Darnley against the Queen of England's wish, she had been constantly unhappy.

When the liberation of Mary was next discussed in the English cabinet, the four lords proposed the articles which had been submitted by them to Mary ; but they suppressed the one respecting the marriage, until Maitland, who was to disclose the project to Elizabeth, should arrive from Scotland. The plan was generally approved ; Cecil formally promised not to oppose it, although he nevertheless refused to second it. Lords Boyd and Wood were sent to Scotland, the former to obtain the consent of the queen's lords, the latter that of Murray, who, in reality, by no means desired the success of a plan which would deprive him of the regency. Norfolk now showed as much eagerness as he had previously shown indifference ; he commenced an active but secret correspondence with Mary, through the agency of the Bishop of Ross, expecting that

Elizabeth would know nothing of what was passing. He was deceived: the treacherous Wood revealed all to Elizabeth before his departure. On the other hand, Bothwell remitted from Denmark his consent to a divorce; the Kings of France and Spain, as likewise the English nobility, approved of every thing; nothing remained but that the articles should be ratified by the regent and Elizabeth.

Murray assembled the Scottish Parliament, and while he affected to speak in favor of Mary's liberation, employed all his influence to prevent it. Parliament would not even consent to the appointment of a committee to examine the question of the validity or nullity of Bothwell's marriage. Maitland, who did not doubt the perfidy of the regent, then feared for himself, and deemed it prudent to seek an asylum with his friend, the Earl of Athol. Murray did not lose a moment in transmitting to Elizabeth the decision of the Scottish Parliament. He informed her by letter that the Scots would never consent to receive Mary. His messenger found Elizabeth at Farnham, (13th of August,) and the news she received rendered her doubly discontented; at first, because she was tired of having Mary on her hands, and would fain allow her to depart for Scotland,

provided she had nothing to fear for herself; then, because she perceived by Murray's letter that the project of Norfolk's marriage had been concealed from her.

As the contents of the message had transpired, Leicester was urgently pressed to explain the whole matter to Elizabeth, who, on leaving the table, advised Norfolk *to beware on what pillow he should rest his head*. This expression was not reassuring. Leicester was urged anew; he still promised, yet delayed. It was only after some days that, fearing for his own security, he imagined the melodramatic scene by which his pardon would be assured.

The court having proceeded from Farnham to Tichfield, Leicester kept his bed, and the queen was informed that he was dangerously ill. The virgin queen hastened to visit him, and as she sat by his bedside, the sick man, in a feeble and trembling voice, interrupted by sobs, informed her that, before dying, he wished to ask pardon for the ingratitude and disloyalty he was guilty of, in having wished to marry her rival to one of her subjects. Leicester, as he expected, easily obtained pardon, and survived. Norfolk was severely reprimanded, and forbidden, under penalty of treason, ever more to entertain the project.

The duke cheerfully assented ; but perceiving that the courtiers, especially Leicester, avoided him, he set out for his castle of Kenninghall, in Norfolk. The queen, who suspected him of treachery, peremptorily ordered him to return without delay.

The regent, in the interim, wishing to apprehend Maitland and baffle his intrigues in Mary's favor, invited him to attend a council at Stirling. An order was given for his arrest, and the suspicious, crafty Maitland was insnared. Murray appointed a day for his trial ; he wished to intimidate and compel him to become Norfolk's accuser. Maitland refused, and Murray did not hesitate to assume the character which the former rejected at the peril of his life. He sent the duke's letters to Elizabeth, protesting that he had only appeared to assent to the project through motives of personal safety. These vile manœuvres caused the Duke of Chastelherault to say, " Murray aims higher than is supposed ; he desires the crown. May Heaven grant that he may find in the path he enters what so many others have found before him."

Norfolk was sent to the Tower, Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, excluded from the royal presence, and the Bishop of Ross, Lord Lumley,

and some others, placed under arrest. The prosecution was no less vigorously carried on than if it concerned a direct outrage against the person of Elizabeth; but the customary means* of obtaining proofs or confessions only produced the conviction, that the proceedings of the accused might have offended the susceptibility of the Queen of England, but that there was not a shadow of disloyalty or treason in them. Serious fears, arising from the situation of the northern counties, distracted the attention of Elizabeth and her ministers from a deed which would have been performed as they had originally agreed, to devote it wholly to the insurrection which had broken out in the remote provinces.

The Queen of Scots had friends in Northumberland and the neighboring counties. The spectacle of a young princess, the victim of her confidence in the promises of Elizabeth, and the captive of her who should have been her protectress, deeply moved generous men. The charms of her conversation, and the elegance

* Questions were proposed to each individual in private, and he was informed that his only hope of mercy depended on the truth of his replies. These confessions were afterwards compared, discrepancies explained, and new questions suggested. Thus every suspicious circumstance was sifted, and the innocence or guilt of the parties determined upon.

and sweetness of her manners, added necessarily to the interest which her misfortunes inspired. All those who, even without knowing her, contended that her right to the English throne was legitimate, detested the selfish policy which sought to weaken that right by the most odious calumny; Catholics, in fine, regarded her as a martyr, suffering for her attachment to the faith of her fathers. A great number of English lords had offered her their services; these she had refused by the advice of Norfolk. But the disgrace of that lord extinguished all her hopes, and when Huntingdon and Hereford, her declared enemies, were appointed her jailers, she was agitated with violent apprehensions for her life. She despatched secret messages to the Earl of Westmoreland, the brother-in-law of Norfolk, and to the Earl of Northumberland, who had been appointed by the council; and through these she informed of her situation all those who had formerly tendered their services to her. The Earl of Sussex had communicated to the two former the alarms he had felt respecting the moral situation of the northern counties, and they had succeeded by their answers in dissipating his suspicions. Some imprudent acts and untimely demonstrations of Mary's friends

revived their suspicions; and when Sussex had written to the two earls to repair to York, and was refused by them, suspicion became certainty.

The two earls, notified by the order of Sussex that their conduct was suspected, believed they would not be able to escape the danger threatened by the court without taking up arms against it. At Branspeth Castle they were joined by some hundreds of followers, and on the 16th of November unfurled their banner. The design of the insurgents was to proceed to Tutbury, to liberate the Queen of Scotland, and to compel Elizabeth to recognize her as presumptive heir. A proclamation was addressed to Catholics, calling on them to obtain redress for their grievances, restore the ancient worship, and protect the nobility of the realm from utter ruin. The two earls expected much from this proclamation; for, according to Sadler, whom we cannot suspect, there were not in all this country ten gentlemen sincerely attached to reform. Nevertheless, this proclamation had very little effect; the Catholics — for what reason is unknown — ranging themselves under the standard of Sussex. When the insurgents arrived at Clifford, they held a council of war. The Spanish ambassador had informed them that they must not expect assistance

from his master, but that they might, nevertheless, apply directly to the Duke of Alva, in Flanders. The insurgents then abandoned their design of liberating the Queen of Scots, and with seven thousand men hastened back to Raby Castle. From thence they took possession of Hartlepool, in order to have free communication with the Spanish Netherlands; but the Duke of Alva excused himself under various pretexts from sending the assistance demanded of him, and it even appears that he hindered Philip II. from interfering. On the 27th of the same month, the Queen of Scots was transferred from Tutbury to Coventry.

The indifference of the Catholics to the cause of the insurgents, and the refusal of the Duke of Alva, disconcerted the two earls, who could only count upon their own resources: even these resources would soon fail them, for desertion each day thinned their ranks. Nevertheless, Sussex feared to attack them, because he had but little confidence in his troops, which were composed almost wholly of Catholics. He therefore waited for the arrival of the Earl of Warwick, who headed an army of twelve thousand men. At the approach of the royal army, the insurgents lost all confidence, and hastily retreated

to Hexham, where the infantry dispersed. The cavalry, numbering about five hundred men, crossed into Scotland through Liddisdale. Elizabeth demanded the surrender of the fugitives, but the Scots on the frontier braved the threats of Elizabeth and the orders of Murray. A traitor, — the only one, — Hector Græme, of Harlow, delivered up the Earl of Northumberland to Murray, who confined him in the Castle of Lochleven, and offered Elizabeth, it is said, to exchange him for his sister. The remonstrances of the foreign ambassadors, prompted by the Bishop of Ross, prevented this shameful exchange, in which Elizabeth and Murray would have reciprocally furnished a victim. Westmoreland, and all the other chiefs of the insurgents, who were at first saved by the courageous resistance of the frontier clans, escaped to the continent.

Elizabeth's vengeance was terrible; all those who could be accused of having taken part in the insurrection were despoiled of their property, tortured, and put to death. Some were pardoned after a long captivity, on taking the oath of supremacy.* When all had been punished, Elizabeth published a proclamation, in which she is

* The oath by which the King or Queen of England was recognized as the supreme head of the church of England.

made to say, that she "did not mean to molest any one for religious opinions, so long as those opinions did not conflict with the laws of the realm, which enforced *the frequentation of divine service in the ordinary churches.*"

The failure of the two earls had not discouraged all of Mary's friends. One of the most zealous for her deliverance was Leonard Dacres, head of the noble family of the Dacres of Gillisland. At the commencement of the rebellion he had left the court to raise men, avowedly for the service of Elizabeth, but actually to join the insurgents. When he perceived their cause desperate, he fell upon their rear guard, made a number of prisoners, and thus obtained among his neighbors the reputation of a devoted loyalist. But the ministers were not duped by his conduct, and the Earl of Sussex was ordered to arrest him on a charge of high treason, (January, 1570.)

Leonard Dacres was upon his guard; he became aware of his pursuit, and within a month we find him at the head of a numerous body of troops, three thousand borderers having ranged themselves under his banner.* An engagement took place on the banks of the Gelt on the 22d

* The banner of Dacres was covered with scallop shells.

of February, between Dacres's forces and the royal army. Leonard did not evince less ability than courage, but he was obliged to yield to much superior forces; he escaped to Scotland, from whence he proceeded to Flanders.

A month previous the Scottish regent had died, and according to the unchristian-like but partly excusable wish of the Duke of Chastellerault, Providence had sent him what so many others had met in the same career of usurpation. The regent had confiscated the property of many members of the Hamilton family. One of them, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, was despoiled, not only of his own domains, but also, by an atrocious act of injustice, of what formed his wife's dower. The latter was given to a favorite of Murray, and the new proprietor, presenting himself unexpectedly at the house of the woman, drove her ignominiously forth, without giving her time to assume her apparel. This treatment made such an impression upon this unfortunate victim that she lost her reason, and died in a very short time afterwards. Her husband swore that he would be revenged, not upon the favorite, but on Murray himself. He arranged his measures so well, that one day, as the regent was passing through the town of Linlithgow, he en-

tered a house which was unoccupied at the time, and shot him with a carabine. The regent's suite advanced to the house from which the shot was fired ; but, before they had forced an entrance, the murderer had mounted a race horse which he had ready near by, and gained the road. He was pursued, but not overtaken ; the regent died during the night.*

The queen's followers hoped for a moment ; Chastelherault and the Earls of Argyle and Huntley assumed the government in the queen's name. Kirkaldy, who, as well as Maitland, had definitely joined Mary's party, admitted them into Edinburgh, of which place he held the command. This triumph was of short duration ; Elizabeth, under pretence of punishing the frontier clans, who had afforded an asylum to the state rebels, — she who had so often given an asylum to the Scottish rebels, — ordered two armies to set out ; one commanded by Sussex, the other by Lord Scroop. Morton, for whom Heaven reserved

* Robertson of Dalmeny thus sums up Murray's character : "Murray, who practised more deeply in hypocrisy than perhaps any man that has lived ; whose mind was steeled equally against humanity, honor, and truth ; who walked in darkness ; who smiled in the midst of iniquity ; and who covered all his actions with the cloak of religion, is to be handed down as an impostor of the first magnitude to all future times."

the reward so well merited by his crimes, joined the foreign invaders with all Murray's followers, and a great part of Scotland was overrun, fire and sword in hand. The Bishop of Ross and the French ambassador induced Elizabeth to recall her troops; she even appeared to waver between the choice of a successor to Murray and the restoration of Mary to her throne. But she had offered too many injuries* to Mary not to fear that if she was restored to liberty, she would seek to be revenged, and that, assisted by France and Spain, she would succeed; and as if she had the right to command in Scotland, she notified the Scots to elect a regent in the place of Murray. Lennox, the grandfather of the prince, was chosen.

The Queen of England was probably decided by the publication of a bull of Pope Pius V, in the beginning of the month of May. The bull declared her guilty of heresy, deprived her of her pretended rights to the crown, and absolved the English from the oath of allegiance. A copy of it was affixed during the night to the gate of the Bishop of London's residence, by a gentleman named Felton, who was executed shortly after;

* "Forgiveness to the injured doth belong;
They never pardon who commit the wrong."

and although the queen affected to turn the pope's decree into ridicule, it proved the source of considerable alarm, because she believed its execution was connected with some plan of foreign invasion. Under these circumstances, her hatred and jealousy could but increase against the innocent Mary.

CHAPTER X.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH MARY.—TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND.—EXECUTION OF NORFOLK.

MEANWHILE, Mary by her pressing solicitations, her English friends by their entreaties, and the Kings of France and Spain by their remonstrances, finally obtained from Elizabeth (September 1570) a promise to name the conditions on which she would liberate her captive. Negotiations for this purpose were commenced by the English ministers with the Queen of Scotland. The followers of the latter were the more eager to obtain her liberty at any price, because they were aware that there existed among her counsellors a powerful party, who declared the murder of the Queen of Scotland the only means of

restoring peace to England. This means was rejected by Elizabeth, not through motives of humanity, for she ardently desired the death of Mary, but through decency, that it might not be said she had shed the blood of her nearest relation. Hence she offered the regent, Lennox, to deliver Mary to him, provided he would engage that she should be made way with; and hence the Earl of Shrewsbury was ordered to put her to death on the first attempt her friends should make to rescue her.

Cecil and Maitland repaired to Chatsworth, where Mary was then confined, and during the negotiation, which continued a fortnight, Mary proved herself a match for these wily statesmen. Nevertheless, the so natural desire of regaining her liberty induced her to subscribe to all their demands, except what concerned her religious principles. The consent of the Scots was alone necessary: the king's lords, with Morton at their head, arrived about the middle of February, (1571,) and contended before Elizabeth that subjects had the right to depose illegitimate or immoral sovereigns; an uncourtly doctrine, to which she listened with bad enough grace, and which did not incline her in their favor. The discussion which took place a month after with the queen's

lords referred only to the securities to be given by the Queen of Scots on reascending the throne.

Elizabeth, who had appeared interested in terminating this affair promptly, resumed her usual irresolution at the moment for action. She hesitated so long, that no one knew to what her subterfuges would lead. "Believe me," said Leicester himself, "no one in England can say which way it will go." Cecil, who had been raised to the peerage, under the title of Baron Burleigh, relieved his mistress of her embarrassment. The commissioners of the king's lords were recalled, in the name of the prince, — later, James VI., — under pretence that they had not sufficient powers. This revocation was the work of Burleigh, who, on the other hand, favored with all his influence the proposition of marriage made to Elizabeth in the name of the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX.

Soon after the separation of commissioners, Parliament commenced its session. One of the first bills proposed, and which, after having passed both houses, received the royal sanction, declared it high treason in any one to claim a right to the crown during the queen's life; or to assert that it belonged to any other person than

the queen ; or call the queen a heretic or usurper ; or to deny the right of Parliament to regulate the order of succession and the heritage of the crown.

The death of Murray was far from having restored calm to Scotland ; the parties, more exasperated than ever against each other, since Elizabeth had recalled her troops, waged the most fearful war. The soldiers of Lennox surprised the Castle of Dumbarton, which was considered impregnable. Among the prisoners was the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who had taken refuge there from the pursuit of the regent's partisans : the prelate perished on a gibbet. This crime involved many others ; many acts of violence, committed by way of retaliation, were followed by new massacres. Even children, it is said, fought in the streets, with stones, sticks, and knives, for King James or Queen Mary. To complete the confusion, each party convoked a Parliament ; the queen's at Edinburgh, the king's at Stirling.

Kirkaldy formed the project of terminating, by a decisive stroke, this direful contest. He conceived the plan of seizing Stirling by a *coup de main* ; and it is presumed that, if he had commanded the expedition in person, he would have

completely succeeded; he confided it to Fairny Herst, Scott of Buccleuch, and Claude Hamilton. These three chiefs set out with about five hundred knights, and were admitted into the city at very early morn, by a native of Stirling, named Bell. Detachments were immediately placed in the houses occupied by the king's lords, who, surprised at this sudden attack, surrendered without resistance; the Earl of Marr alone defended himself valiantly, which gave the others time to rally. The regent Lennox was made prisoner, and Claude Hamilton ordered him to be executed, which order was obeyed, amidst cries of "*Remember the archbishop!*"

Hamilton and his friends were, however, obliged to retire before the superior forces which had rallied around the Earl of Marr, who, on account of the services rendered by him, was appointed regent of the kingdom. Mary's partisans, reduced to a small number, established themselves in Edinburgh, where Kirkaldy continued to command in the queen's name, whilst, in the north, a band of Highlanders, under the command of Sir Adam Gordon, essayed defending the interests she had embraced. Mary's cause was not abandoned in England, although all previous attempts had failed. Parliament,

not content with proscribing her pretensions to the crown, had passed a bill which subjected Catholics to such conditions, and such severe penalties for each infraction of them, that they were placed in the alternative of not being able to remain in England without offence to their consciences, or of removing from it without losing their fortunes. Other provisos affected those who had filled posts during the preceding reign, although they were not Catholics; the spirit of discontent pervaded the majority of the nation. Harassed by the intolerance of the new laws, Catholics, suspected Protestants, men deprived of their places, those whose property had been confiscated, the discontented of all classes, took the desperate resolution of defending their interests at the peril of their lives, rather than be thrown into prison and forfeit their property to the queen. A leader was needed, and they cast their eyes upon the Duke of Norfolk, whom the vindictive Elizabeth still detained in the Tower.

Unfortunately, one of the Queen of Scotland's servants, named Bailly, was arrested at Dover, as the bearer of a packet of letters, some of which, the address excepted, were written in cipher. Lord Cobham, to whom they had been sent, confided them for some hours to the Bishop of

Ross, who was adroit enough to substitute in their place others, the contents of which were unimportant. Bailly, having been examined, confessed what he knew concerning the conspiracy ; he finished by declaring it was the treason of a certain Brown, who carried to the council a bag of money he had received from the secretary of Norfolk to bring to Bannister. In the bag were found letters which proved that this money was destined for Lord Herries, the agent and counsellor of the Queen of Scotland. Divers individuals, even the Bishop of Ross, were arrested, and the torture, or fear of the torture, made them avow what the ministers wished to know.*

It was ascertained that there had been several plans to effect Mary's release ; that on many occasions she had asked and obtained the advice of Norfolk ; that the money sent to Bannister had been forwarded to Norfolk by the French ambassador ; that through the mediation of Ru-

* The Bishop of Ross claimed the ambassadorial privilege, but was not hearkened to. He alleged that, when Randolph and Tamworth were convicted of having assisted the Scottish rebels, Queen Mary had been contented with ordering them to leave the kingdom. This argument was peremptory ; but Burleigh resolved the difficulty, by informing the bishop that he must either answer or be put to the rack.

dolphi, negotiations had been established between the duke, on one side, and the King of Spain, Duke of Alva, and the pope, on the other; that Mary, despairing of redress from Elizabeth, with whom she had exhausted every means in her power, had instructed Rudolphi to act for her at foreign courts, and that the duke had reviewed, approved, and corrected these instructions; that Philip II. had offered her for a husband Don John of Austria, but that she preferred the Duke of Norfolk, provided he would agree to restore the Catholic faith; that of the two projects presented to Norfolk by Rudolphi, one aimed at the arrest of Elizabeth on her way to the House of Lords, the other to collect the greatest possible number of troops, and effect a union with the Duke of Alva, who would land at Harwich with ten thousand veterans.

The first victim devoted by the ministers to vengeance was, as is well known, the Duke of Norfolk, whom the queen had not pardoned for persisting in seeking to marry the Queen of Scotland. On the 14th of January, 1572, the Earl of Shrewsbury, having been appointed lord high steward, summoned twenty-six peers, selected by the ministers, to attend within two days, in Westminster Hall, to determine on the duke's

fate. The duke was charged with imagining and compassing the death of his sovereign : 1. By seeking to marry the Queen of Scots, although he knew that she claimed the crown of England to the exclusion of Elizabeth ; 2. By soliciting foreign powers to invade the realm ; 3. By furnishing money to be employed by the queen's enemies. It is impossible to describe the entire injustice of this mode of proceeding. The accused was only informed of his trial the eve before he was arraigned ; for eighteen months he had held no communication with his friends, and only learned the charges against him by hearing the indictment from the bar ; and they even had the cruelty to refuse him counsel. Norfolk, notwithstanding, defended himself courageously, and with talent, which, always expressed in a moderate tone, contrasted singularly with the virulence of the crown advocates. His condemnation, however, had been determined in advance ; he heard it with calmness and resignation.

Elizabeth signed the warrant for his execution on Saturday, the 11th of February ; the next day she revoked it. The cruel Burleigh then drew an alarming description of the danger her clemency might produce ; she spent nearly two months in continual hesitation. At last, on the

9th of April the warrant was signed anew, and anew revoked in the middle of the night. Burleigh returned to the charge. The death of Norfolk should precede that of a nobler victim; for, it was said, the axe must be laid to the root: so long as the Queen of Scots exists, there will be no security for the crown and life of the Queen of England. To these insinuations Elizabeth replied, "Can I put to death the bird, which, to escape the talons of the vulture, has fled to my feet for protection?" Burleigh had at his disposal the most servile Parliament that ever was; he always employed it as a last resource when he wished to put an end to the irresolution of his mistress.

The Commons, having resolved that the existence of Norfolk was incompatible with the queen's safety, determined that an energetic address should be presented to the crown, (28th of May:) it was unnecessary. Burleigh had a third time obtained the signature of Elizabeth, (31st of May,) and as it was not revoked, the unfortunate duke was led to the scaffold, (June 2,) after a cruel agony of five months.

Both houses, rivalling each other in injustice and barbarity, then resolved to proceed against the Queen of Scotland by bill of attainder — an

infernal procedure, established by the most savage despotism to declare one attainted without a hearing, without previous information, and upon presumptive evidence. The queen forbade them proceeding with this bill, but the Commons did not obey. She repeated her prohibition, when Burleigh adopted another plan, by presenting a bill which declared Mary incapable of succeeding. The queen interdicted anew to the two houses any interference with the inheritance of the crown ; and as, in spite of this prohibition, the bill had passed both houses, she prorogued the Parliament. She nevertheless consented that commissioners should be appointed to complain to Mary of the part she had taken in the conspiracy, who replied, that in yielding her consent to the proposed marriage, she had had no hostile intention towards the queen ; that her correspondence with Rudolphi had been strictly confined to pecuniary transactions, and that all she had demanded from foreign powers was to assist her faithful Scottish subjects.

Meanwhile the base Morton added a floweret to his wreath. The Earl of Northumberland was still confined in the Castle of Lochleven. Morton, during his exile in England, had received favors from the earl ; the countess, trusting to

the generosity which her husband's former favors might have produced, offered two thousand pounds for his ransom, which sum was deposited at Antwerp. But Morton, in the interim, treated with the Queen of England, who advanced an equal, or perhaps a larger sum; so that the unfortunate earl, on leaving Lochleven, was conducted to Berwick, and from thence to York, where he was beheaded without delay or trial.

All these bloody catastrophes recalled to Mary the lot which awaited herself. She passed days and nights in pangs of terror, every instant seeming to feel the dagger of the assassin on the way to her heart; and her fears were not devoid of foundation. When the month of August (1572) had arrived, and the mournful news of the night of the 24th had been received at London, Burleigh and his adherents redoubled their efforts to persuade the queen that the massacre of the French Protestants was only a prelude to the massacre of the English Protestants. To anticipate this event, there was but one means: to put to death the Queen of Scots and her associates. Elizabeth was not convinced of the necessity, or even of the efficacy, of this step; but above all, she did not *yet* wish to soil her hands with the blood of her relation. She

determined to despatch Killegrew to Scotland, ostensibly to reconcile the two parties, in reality with the secret mission to offer the regent to deliver the Queen of Scots to him, provided *she would be treated as she deserved*, and rendered incapable of ever returning to England.

The Earl of Marr nobly rejected the insinuations of Killegrew; he sincerely desired to reëstablish peace in Scotland, to heal the wounds of civil war, to cause the fusion of the two parties, not to pander to the jealousy or fears of the Queen of England. He sought to rally all the Scots around the standard of his royal pupil, being persuaded that if Mary ever recovered her liberty, it would be easy to reconcile the interests of the mother and son. On the arrival of the English envoy, he was concluding a treaty for the surrender of Edinburgh Castle, when unfortunately he visited the Earl of Morton at Dalkeith. Whilst here being taken suddenly indisposed, he returned to Stirling, and died in a few days. Morton was strongly suspected of having poisoned him; at least, owing to English interest, he succeeded to his post.

The new regent pursued an entirely different policy from that of the Earl of Marr; he demanded the unconditional surrender of the Castle

of Edinburgh, (23d of February, 1573.) Kirkaldy, Hume, and Maitland refused to place themselves at the mercy of their declared enemy, and upon their refusal, Drury, the marshal of Berwick, arrived in the port of Leith with an English army and a considerable train of artillery. After a siege of thirty-four days, the besieged surrendered to Drury and the Queen of England; the noble Elizabeth delivered them to the regent, and the regent had Kirkaldy executed. Maitland was poisoned, as the Queen of Scots asserts; or he poisoned himself, to escape the lot which awaited him. Kirkaldy was considered the bravest soldier and best general in Scotland; Maitland, the best statesman: both had repeatedly changed their party, and only received what they merited; but it was not from Morton, who was more culpable than they, that they should have received it.

Many years passed without any favorable change taking place in the situation of the Queen of Scotland; each day, on the contrary, augmented them. Since the fall of Edinburgh, the regent, always sustained by the soldiers and money of Elizabeth, had compelled the principal lords of the queen's party to recognize his title, and submit to the authority of the king; the

Duke of Chastelherault and the Earl of Huntley laid down their arms, and Morton reigned as sovereign over Scotland, whilst the queen, a captive, experienced all the horrors of the most rigorous imprisonment. The number of her domestics was diminished, the allowance of her table reduced ; no stranger could obtain access to her presence without the express permission of Elizabeth ; and her correspondence was examined and often retained by the agents of the ministry. Her ignorance of passing events, the perpetual anxiety of her mind, the refusal to allow her the enjoyment of air and exercise, all contributed to impair her health ; and all the petitions she addressed to Elizabeth for a mitigation of the rigor of her confinement were evaded, or remained unanswered.

Elizabeth, on her side, was not tranquil ; she had been so often told that the liberty of the Queen of Scotland was incompatible with her own security, that she lived in continual terror, fearing every one and distrusting even her most zealous subjects ; Burleigh himself and the Earl of Shrewsbury were not more exempt than others from suspicion. She particularly dreaded the power of Mary's charms, and the impression they might make upon Shrewsbury ; therefore she had

surrounded him with assistant officials, who, under pretence of lightening his unpleasant duties, in fact only watched his conduct to report it to the queen. It was with profound terror that she learned of the Prince of Orange (February, 1577) that the brother of Philip II., the famous Don John of Austria, not only intended to subdue the Netherlands, but also to invade England, that he might marry the Queen of Scotland, in whose name, and by the assistance of whose friends, he would contend for the English crown. This project was not entirely devoid of foundation. Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., had solicited the King of Spain to unite with him to liberate Mary Stuart and establish the Catholic religion throughout Great Britain. Philip, it is true, would not act openly, but he did not oppose the scheme of his illegitimate brother. The sovereign pontiff would furnish, it was said, six thousand regular troops, and other precautions would be taken to secure the success of the expedition; but it appears that the project existed only on paper, and no attempt was made to carry it into execution.

Meanwhile Morton, by his continually increasing avidity, excited violent murmurs among the Scots, and his acquiescence in all the desires of

Elizabeth rendered him extremely odious. He had altered the currency, multiplied confiscations, and appropriated to himself the ecclesiastical benefices; he showed himself, besides, so servile and base towards England, that, because an affray had taken place on the borders between the inhabitants of the two countries, he even humbled himself so far as to make public excuses to Elizabeth's envoy. A great part of the nobility, having assembled in convention, decided on placing James, then ten years of age, at the head of the government; and Morton was compelled to resign his authority, (December, 1577.) But three months had scarcely elapsed, when, gaining admittance to Stirling Castle, he seized the person of the king, and placed himself at the head of the council, in which position he resumed, as minister, the authority he had no longer as regent. Athol, the chief author of the late change, being invited by Morton to an entertainment as a sign of reconciliation, died five or six days after from poison.

Secure of the ascendancy, Morton now gave the reins to his avarice and resentment; and the chiefs of the house of Hamilton were compelled to leave the kingdom, their property being seized by Morton, (1579.) But if divine justice appears

sometimes slow in striking, its blows are not less terrible for that. James was warmly attached to two youths, one of whom, but recently arrived from France, was the nephew of the Earl of Lennox; the king created him earl, then duke, and loaded him with honors; and Lennox insinuated to the king that Morton intended to convey him to England. The other favorite was Captain James Stewart, second son of Lord Ochiltree; he hated Morton, of whom his family had reason to complain, and urged the king to rid himself of an odious guardian; meanwhile he procured proof of Morton's complicity in the assassination of Darnley, and when he had obtained it, brought a formal accusation against him, (December 31, 1581.) When Elizabeth was informed of this event, she sent her agent Randolph to Scotland, who made great efforts to save the accused; but he had the awkwardness to accuse Lennox of being leagued with foreign princes to invade England, by which he only irritated against his *protégé* men already disposed to treat him with the same rigor he had so often displayed towards others.

To support the manœuvres of her worthy representative Randolph, who, in the two preceding missions, had only been ordered to leave the

realm, and who, in the third, had to fly precipitately to escape being hung, Elizabeth despatched to the borders a body of troops, with orders to repair where they were needed, in order to assist *her party* in Scotland.* But as her agent did not succeed in exciting the Scots to rebellion, Elizabeth, through shame, countermanded her troops, who returned to England. It was proved on the trial, that Morton had participated in the Whittingham meeting; that his cousin and intimate friend Archibald Douglas, and his servant Binning, were actually employed; that Queen Mary, when she joined the rebels at Carberry Hill, had told him, to his face, that he was one of the murderers. The *manrent*, or bond by which Bothwell was protected from the punishment of the murder, was also produced, and a declaration of Bothwell, made upon his death bed. (1576.)† Morton was unanimously declared guilty, and condemned to be hung; the king, however, commuted the punishment to that of decapitation.

* "For relief of hir partie in Scotland, and (if) need be."

† In this declaration, Bothwell affirmed that the queen was innocent, and named all his accomplices. It is believed that the King of Denmark sent a copy of this declaration to Elizabeth, who judged it apropos to suppress it. It appears, according to Camden, that Bothwell always affirmed, on oath, that the queen was ignorant of the plot: *reginam minime consciam fuisse sæpe contestatus est.*

Morton acknowledged that he had been solicited by Bothwell and Douglas to take part in the conspiracy, and that he had refused, because, although Bothwell alleged the queen's consent, he had no written proof of it. Camden contends that his real confession was, that he had demanded the queen's written order before joining the conspiracy, and that Bothwell had replied that such an order could not be produced, for the deed must take place without her knowledge. Walter Scott, in his History of Scotland, contends that he died courageously, and with truly Christian courage. It is true, that, when on the scaffold, he threw himself on his face, manifesting by his groans, sobs, and violent contortions of his limbs, much agitation and anguish of soul; which caused the ministers — Protestant — who accompanied him to say, that these violent convulsions were *evident signs of the inward and mighty working of the Spirit of God*. It would have been desirable for these ministers to have explained their meaning, for we can only see therein the convulsions of despair; it happens only too often that a man terrified at his crimes, and not daring to hope for the divine mercy, abandons himself to a reprobate rage when his term of life is about to close.

After the condemnation of Morton and the enthroning of James, it appeared that Elizabeth would no longer be able to retain the Queen of Scotland a prisoner. She was not ignorant that a party was intriguing with the young king that he might claim his mother's liberty; that the King of Spain and the pope had furnished assistance in money; and that the project had been entertained of associating Mary and her son on the Scottish throne. There was, then, urgent necessity for forming a party to hinder this event, which, by reconciling the son to the mother, would have presented two enemies instead of one. The infernal policy of Burleigh assisted Elizabeth, by organizing a new revolution in Scotland. The Earl of Gowrie invited the king (August, 1582) to visit him at his castle of Ruthven, whither the king unsuspectingly repaired, and was detained a prisoner. James Stewart, a short time previous created Earl of Arran, was thrown into prison, and Lennox escaped to France, where he died of a broken heart; or, as some say, of poison. The lords of the English faction then ruled without hinderance.

When the Queen of Scotland heard this grievous news, she wrote from her bed, to which she was confined by illness, a touching letter to Eliza-

beth ; but she had no feeling for any one but herself. Mary's condition was not improved ; and although she was really ill, no comfort was offered her. In the interim, the King of France, who was interested in the English faction not governing Scotland, in order that Elizabeth, obliged to divide her attention, might be less occupied in assisting the French Huguenots, sent La Motte Fenelon to Scotland to aid the young king to recover his liberty, and effect as soon as possible the association project. Elizabeth, on her side, sent (January, 1583) Bowes and Davidson to oppose the measures of the French ambassador ; but James, with a vigor beyond his years, pretended a desire to see St. Andrew's, repaired to that city, entered the castle, and closed the gates, thus preventing his guards from entering. He then appealed to the nobility, and appeared so determined to preserve the power and liberty he had regained, that Gowrie and his friends durst make no attempt to deprive him of it.

The news of this revolution revived Mary's hopes ; but it was always her misfortune to have for protectors men who consulted their own interest before all else. The Duke of Guise, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and many other important personages, assembled at Paris, and

devised a plan for Mary's liberation, which could not fail to succeed: Guise should land on the southern coast; James, with all his forces, should enter the northern counties; and the English friends of the house of Stuart should be summoned to the aid of the injured queen. James, to whom this plan was communicated, approved of it without hesitation; but Mary, to whom the French ambassador communicated it, feared that on the first attempt made for her deliverance, her wardens would put her to death; she would rather seek to obtain her liberty by concession and negotiation. She wrote to Elizabeth that she wished to transfer all her rights to her son; renewed the offers heretofore made; and proposed a league of perpetual amity. Elizabeth, deeply moved, seemed to acquiesce; her ministers made no objection; but an obstacle came whence it was least expected. Henry III. had ordered his ambassador, Castelnau, to follow ostensibly the instructions of the Queen of Scotland, but to oppose in reality any treaty, which, by freeing Elizabeth from any apprehension on the part of Scotland, would leave her at liberty to support the Protestants of France.

This policy of Henry III. cannot be too much blamed, pressed on one side as he was by a

league, which, under a religious pretext, was devoted to Philip's interest, and on the other by the Huguenots, who were supported by their English friends. It is unfortunate that the effects of it should have reacted on poor Mary, who finally beheld the cup of promise dashed for the tenth time from her lips. On her side, the English queen, although determined on still retaining her prisoner, experienced considerable disquietude, more especially as she was threatened without knowing who threatened her. She learned, through her spies, of the Duke of Guise's projects in favor of her relation, of his connection with James, and of the hopes he based upon a great number of English subjects. To prevent the evil which she feared, she increased the number of her spies, distributed money freely, employed every where agents, the provocators of troubles and revolts, laid snares for the Catholics of her kingdom, augmented the severity of the penal laws, and permitted one party of her subjects to persecute the other in her name. The scaffolds at that time (1584) were drenched with blood, and men of all classes suffered the frightful punishment of traitors. Meanwhile, her minister Walsingham was intriguing in Scotland, and paid the preachers to excite the spirit

of insurrection, the nobles to arm their vassals, and the people to join the insurgents.

The king, who perceived that his crown was still aimed at, by an ordinance of the 2d of March enjoined on all persons concerned in the "raid of Ruthven" to quit the kingdom without delay. Gowrie promised obedience, but joined the Earls of Angus and Marr, his accomplices; about the middle of April, they appeared at the head of a body of insurgents. Five days after, (April 18,) the insurgents were routed, pursued and dispersed; and Gowrie, being taken prisoner, was delivered to justice. The good Elizabeth had determined to assist the rebels, but the French ambassador strongly remonstrated; the order remained unexecuted, and was soon after revoked, on learning that Gowrie had been executed as a traitor. Angus and Marr escaped to England, and Walsingham solicited their pardon in Elizabeth's name; but the Scottish Parliament condemned them as rebels, and confiscated their property. This vigorous act was a death blow to the English faction in Scotland.

In the mean time, Elizabeth desired a reconciliation, and her minister Walsingham, all of whose plans had been baffled, advised her to accept Mary's proposition. James then sent his

favorite Gray, master of Marr, to London; Nau, Mary's French secretary, repaired thither also. The French ambassador was authorized to offer his mediation; when, unfortunately, a Scottish Jesuit, named Creighton, returning to Scotland, was taken by a Danish cruiser, which conveyed him to England. There, contrary to the most simple conception of the law of nations, although he was a foreigner, a native of a country with which they were at peace, that he came from a country equally friendly, that he was neither accused nor guilty of any hostile act towards England, himself and a priest, also a Scot, who accompanied him, were examined. Tortures, or the fear of the rack, made them disclose all the particulars of the invasion projected two years before, and of which the prospect alone caused Elizabeth so much alarm.

It is not necessary to say that Burleigh and his friends improved the opportunity to agitate the mind of their capricious and feeble mistress with new and unfounded apprehensions; and a plan of association was even composed, the members of which bound themselves to pursue unto death, not only every one who should attempt, but also every person in whose favor any other should attempt, the life of the queen. The

latter clause was evidently directed against the Queen of Scots, whose life was thus placed at the mercy of the first murderer who would deprive her of it; for a plot had only to be pretended, to justify the assassin. When the plan of the association was shown to Mary, she read it as her death warrant; for she did not doubt the enmity of Elizabeth, and placed little dependance on her son, who, now arrived at the age when generous sentiments are developed,—he was seventeen,—showed no real attachment, except to his pleasures or interests, and who added profound dissimulation to this cool selfishness. In his negotiations with Guise, the King of Spain, and the pope, he expressed a strong partiality for the Catholic worship, and an excessive tenderness for his mother, whom he wished to liberate at the peril of his life; but money was always needed to levy troops, equip them, and pay agents. By these protestations he obtained considerable assistance in money; but his sincerity was at last doubted; their liberality ceased, and he determined to play a similar game with Elizabeth. His ambassador Gray was ordered not to join the secretary of Mary, but to negotiate apart. Gray was a Catholic, at least in appearance, and had always professed the greatest

attachment to Mary's cause. He was at first received coldly enough by Elizabeth, and still more so by her ministers ; but by assisting at the Anglican service, acting in opposition to Nau, and revealing to Elizabeth all that he knew of the plans formed for Mary's deliverance, he so gained her confidence as to obtain a sum of money from her for his master, with the promise of a larger sum, in proportion to the services that James might render her ; that is to say, if James would aid in delivering her from her prisoner, or at least consent that she should be rid of her.

The English Parliament assembled in autumn, and one of the first subjects with which it was occupied was the confirmation, by statute, of the association for the queen's safety. It was proposed that, in case of invasion, or any attempt against the queen, the individual by or for whom the attempt was made should forfeit all right to the succession, and should be pursued to death by all the queen's subjects. Elizabeth felt the scandalous injustice of this measure, and in a message proposed sundry amendments. The bill, which finally passed, provided that, before *pursuing to death* any individual, that individual should have been declared privy to the crime by

a commission of twenty-four members; by the same bill Mary and her descendants were declared incapable of succeeding, in case the queen perished by a violent death; and the articles of the association already subscribed were ordered to be explained according to the provisions of the present statute.

CHAPTER XI.

ASSOCIATION. — TROUBLES. — CONSPIRACY OF BABINGTON. — MARY IS IMPLICATED IN IT. — HER TRIAL, CONDEMNATION, AND DEATH.

THE unfortunate Queen of Scotland had passed the whole winter (1584–1585) in the most cruel disquietude; her agony had already commenced.* The ratification of the plan of association by Parliament; her removal from the Castle of Sheffield, where she was under the wardenship of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to the old and ruinous manor of Tutbury, where Sir Amias Paulet, a dependent of Leicester, was her jailer; the suspicions thrown out that she

* “A more weary and distressing course of oppression, mingled from time to time with deceitful glimmerings of delusive hope, is hardly to be found in history.” — *Sir Walter Scott*.

knew the plans of many conspirators who had been tried ; the silence or evasive replies of Elizabeth, — all contributed to agitate her mind with sadness, grief, and alarm. To these subjects, fraught with fear for the future, was at length joined the conviction that her son had no affection for her. After she had discovered Gray's treason, she had written to James, complaining of the conduct of his favorite. James answered her in a disrespectful manner, concluding by saying that she was only the queen mother, that she had no right to interfere in the affairs of the realm, and that she had only a title without authority. This letter opened Mary's eyes to the hopelessness of her situation. Abandoned by her own son, upon whom could she henceforth rely ? At first she formed the resolution of disowning him, and of transferring all her own rights to some prince capable of defending them ; but she made to Heaven a sacrifice of her resentment, and Heaven, who wished yet to prove her, sent her new trials. A young man, a Catholic recusant, and suspected of being a priest, was sent to Tutbury and confined in a room adjoining the queen's chamber. She saw him many times dragged to the chapel to assist at the Anglican service, and, at the end of three weeks, he

was hanged before her window.* This sinister event only confirmed her in the opinion that her own life was sought. "In this sinister opinion I have been not a little confirmed by the treatment of this priest, who, after having been so much tormented, was hanged on the wall before my windows." Influenced by this dismal idea, she wrote to Elizabeth, beseeching her for liberty and life. "I beg of you, madam," wrote she to her, after a preamble in which she appears convinced that the aim of the association was her death,— "I beg of you, with clasped hands, to free me from this long and miserable captivity. Name the conditions; I will submit to them, whatever they may be, provided my conscience be safe; if my past offers are not sufficient for your security, take from me all right to the succession. I am content. I have no doubt of *your* sincerity and truth. Yet when they have murdered me without your knowledge, who can repair the injury to me? * * *. If my religion is what is aimed at by my enemies, I am ready, by the grace of God, to bow my head under the axe, to shed my blood in the face of all Christian nations. I shall esteem it a happi-

* See *Appendix*, No. 10.

ness to be the first victim. This is not an idle boast: you know that I am not out of danger."

Elizabeth, no longer afraid of James, who had basely become her dependant, did not answer Mary's letter, and left her to the care of Paulet, whose fanaticism and religious frenzy she well knew. A short time after she concluded a treaty with James, (5th of July, 1586,) by which they reciprocally engaged to defend the reformed religion against the efforts of Catholic princes, and to assist each other in case of foreign invasion. In this treaty no mention was made of the Queen of Scots, whose misfortunes were finally drawing to a close. It has been said that her servants and her own friends, by their imprudence, combined with her vehement adversaries in hurrying her to the scaffold. They were not only disunited among themselves, but a great number of traitors had crept in among her loyal defenders.

Morgan and Paget acted as administrators of the queen's dower in France. The former had been implicated in a conspiracy against Elizabeth, and though there was no proof, she forgot herself so far as to say that she would give ten thousand pounds for his head. When she sent the order of the garter to the French king, she

demanding in return the person of Morgan. The feeble Henry III. durst not refuse; but judging that if he obeyed the request of Elizabeth, his condescension would do him no honor, he adopted a middle course, confined Morgan in the Bastile, and sent his papers to the queen. Morgan employed the time in prison in planning schemes of revenge, and with the aid of Paget corresponded with Mary, and sought agents and accomplices in every part of England. The minister Walsingham suspected him, corrupted the fidelity of his agents, and encouraged him in his schemes, he himself secretly placing at his disposal various means of success. This proceeding concealed a perfidious object: Morgan corresponded with Mary's two secretaries, Nau and Curle; the wily Walsingham thought that the unfortunate princess might be compromised by some imprudence so that the statute of the association would apply to her. Morgan employed as bearer of despatches one Pooley, who was in the service of a daughter of Walsingham; and his principal agents in England were Gifford and Greatley, two men who had studied in the English seminaries, and who were both in the pay of the government. Morgan had recommended them in the strongest terms to Mary,

and she had given them her confidence. We need not say that through these three men Walsingham was very punctually informed of all that passed.

There was yet a fourth agent, who called himself Fortescue, and assumed the garb of an officer. Maude insinuated himself so far into his confidence that he learned that he was a Catholic priest, named John Ballard, whose object was to sound the disposition of his hosts, and seek assistance and friends for the exiles. The Spanish ambassador Mendoza, who was at Paris, having only given vague promises of coöperation on the part of his master, Ballard was sent by Morgan and Paget to England, to see there Savage and Babington. The former was an officer who had served in the wars of Flanders, and who had undertaken to kill Elizabeth; the latter was a rich young man of good family, from the county of Derby, who had always professed a chivalric enthusiasm for the Queen of Scotland.

When Babington learned from Ballard that Savage had engaged to murder the queen, he said that the death of Elizabeth was too important an affair to be confided to the trust of a single individual. He proposed that six gentle-

men should be appointed to that service, whilst others should deliver the Queen of Scotland; and he undertook to propose the affair to several faithful friends, who would joyfully seize the occasion to serve the captive queen, and deliver their brethren from persecution. All these details were minutely transmitted to Walsingham by Maude and Pooley; and that artful minister, whilst he smiled at the infatuation of the youths, who had thus entangled themselves in the toils, was busily employed in weaving a new intrigue, and planning the ruin of a more illustrious victim. Gifford repaired, by order of Walsingham, to the neighborhood of Chertsey; secured, by a bribe, the services of a man who carried beer to the castle in which Mary was confined; and opened a correspondence with the two secretaries, Nau and Curle. A few days after Babington received from the hands of an unknown messenger a note, written by Gifford in Mary's cipher. In this pretended billet of Mary, she complained to Babington of having discontinued his services, and requested him to forward to Chertsey a package which he had received from the French ambassador.

Babington suspected nought, and rejoicing in being useful to Mary, he sent her the packet with

a letter from himself. Gifford forwarded the letter and packet to Walsingham. The papers were deciphered by Thomas Philipps, and transcribed in the minister's bureau: the original, or perhaps only a copy, was returned to Gifford, and by him forwarded to Chertsey. Mary's answer to Babington was likewise deciphered and transcribed in Walsingham's bureau, before being sent to its address. When use was made of these letters, at a later period, in order that Mary might be implicated in the conspiracy, many persons doubted their real contents. Ballard, who by his conduct showed himself so little worthy of the sacred character with which he was invested, apprehensive of immediate danger, or induced by the hope of a commensurate reward, offered to disclose the whole proceeding to Walsingham; but the queen's letter was deciphered, his services were not wanted, and he was arrested as a seminary priest, (4th of August.) The alarm spread among the conspirators, many of whom fled.

Walsingham then judged it proper to inform the queen of his proceedings. She, being alarmed, praised his ingenuity, but condemned his confidence; it was, she said, tempting divine Providence; exposing her life to imminent danger;

and she immediately gave orders that all the conspirators should be arrested. These orders becoming known, the guilty fled, but were all taken, some in dwellings in which they were concealed, others in the provinces. Edward Windsor was the only one who had the good fortune to escape the pursuivants. There were different gradations in their guilt. Babington was in reality an assassin, since he approved of Savage's project; others had refused to imbrue their hands in the queen's blood, but offered to undertake Mary's liberation; others still, equally condemning both projects, committed the crime of not denouncing their friends. Babington appears to have had little generosity, for his declarations alone formed the principal proof upon which his fellow accused were convicted. It is believed that he entertained, or was promised, hopes of pardon. They were all condemned to suffer the frightful punishment of traitors.* As

* This punishment was indeed horrible, and worthy of being employed by the most ferocious people. When the executioner had received the victim from the hands of the sheriff, he had him held by his assistants; then taking a large cutlass in his right hand, he split open his chest, taking great care not to sever the arteries; afterwards, introducing his hand into the wound, he drew forth the heart of the unfortunate condemned, who almost always had time, before expiring, to see his heart and entrails in the hands of the executioner. Often,

two days were allotted for their execution, and it was remarked on the first day that the rank and youth of the condemned, by exciting public pity, had made the punishment inflicted on them seem the more horrible, on the second day life was allowed to be extinct before the bodies were delivered to the executioner. Some days before the arrest of Babington, — that is, about the commencement of the month of August, — Sir Amias Paulet had been ordered to seize the papers of the Queen of Scotland, and he had promised to perform the commission *with the grace of God*. The first day that Mary took an airing, he conducted her by force to Tixal, restricted her to a particular corner of the house, and debarred her from the use of pen, ink, and paper. About the end of the month she was allowed to return to Chertsey, and entering her apartment, observed that her cabinets were standing open, and that her money, seals, and papers were gone. For some moments she preserved an indignant silence; then turning to Paulet with an air of dignity, she said, “There yet remain two things, sir, which you cannot deprive me of: the right which the

when the condemned was a Catholic, the executioner cut the rope quickly after the drop, so that the sufferer, whilst yet alive, underwent a double punishment.

royal blood that flows in my veins gives me to the crown of England, and the attachment which binds my heart to the religion of my fathers."

Meanwhile Elizabeth, not being able to decide alone on the fate of Mary, consulted her faithful counsellors. Some endeavored to save her life; they pleaded her advanced age,—she was in her 45th year,—her corporal infirmities, contracted during her captivity, and the probability that she would succumb in a short time under the rigor of a protracted confinement. The greater number, however, maintained that Mary's death was necessary for the security of their religion; and these balanced between the two opposite opinions of Leicester, who recommended the sure but silent operation of poison, and of Walsingham, who contended that the reputation of their sovereign required the solemnity of a public trial. The latter advice prevailed; and a commission was issued to forty-seven peers, privy counsellors, and judges, all chosen from the most devoted of Elizabeth's subjects, to investigate the conduct of Mary, "commonly called Queen of Scotland and Queen Dowager of France," and to pronounce judgment according to the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the queen's reign, (the statute of

the association.) Thirty-six members of this commission, accompanied by the crown advocates, repaired to the Castle of Fotheringay, whither Mary had been transferred some days before. She received them without testifying any surprise, heard the explanation of the object of their visit, but energetically refused to recognize their authority. "Your authority," said she to them, "is derived from the Queen of England, but the Queen of England is not my superior; I am an independent sovereign, and I will not dishonor the crown of Scotland by consenting to appear as a criminal before an English court of justice." The commissioners separated, dissatisfied and perplexed. In the solitude and silence of the night, she vividly recalled to mind the extraordinary scene which had taken place; she above all remembered, and to her sorrow, the remark of Hatton, that her refusal to recognize the jurisdiction of the court arose only from consciousness of guilt. In the morning she consented to plead for the sake of her reputation, but on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be previously admitted. This, after some demur, was granted.

This concession of Mary was a great imprudence, for by it she committed herself defence-

less to men among whom she had not a single friend, and who surely would not be deterred by a vain protestation, for the decision of which there would be no judges. If she had relied on her quality of sovereign, and said to her pretended judges, "You are the stronger; you can hang me, but you cannot judge me," perhaps they would not have dared go farther; in consenting to her trial, she consented to her condemnation. Under the circumstances in which she was placed, though they might assert, yet it would be almost impossible to prove her innocence. She was alone, friendless, unpractised in judicial forms, without papers, or witnesses, or counsel, with no knowledge of the Babington conspiracy but what they had wished her to know, and unable to divine upon what the charge rested; how could she oppose this array of statesmen, jurists, and lawyers, leagued together to crush her? Nevertheless, Mary defended herself with spirit and dignity; and before no tribunal would the most vile accused have been condemned on the feeble proofs alleged against the Queen of Scotland.

The accusation may be divided into two heads: contravention to the association statute by conspiring with foreigners and traitors to pro-

cure—1. The invasion of the realm; 2. The death of the queen.

To establish the first part, a great number of letters, intercepted or found in her cabinet, were produced; if these letters were genuine, they showed that she had approved of the plan of invasion devised at Paris, and that she had even offered to aid its execution by inducing her friends in Scotland to take up arms and seize the person of James. Mary denied these charges, which she treated as frivolous, and said that, as the equal and not the subject of Elizabeth, she had of right sought every means to recover her liberty, which they had deprived her of, by abusing her confidence and good faith; she had always offered conditions to Elizabeth, which even she had pronounced reasonable, and that all her propositions having been rejected, she had accepted the offers of assistance which had been tendered her by her friends.

The second part of the charge she vehemently denied. The crown advocates read a copy of Babington's letter, in which appeared this passage: "For the despatch of the usurper, from obedience of whom, by the excommunication of her, we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they

bear to the Catholic cause and your majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution." Then was read a copy of the supposed reply, in which the queen was made to say, "When the forces are in readiness both within and without the realm, then shall it be time to set the six gentlemen on work, taking good order that, on the accomplishment of their design, I may be suddenly transported out of this place." It is worthy of remark that in this trial, as well as in that which Mary had undergone concerning Darnley's assassination, copies were only employed, and the originals not produced, in spite of the most formal and legitimate demands.

Mary contended that she had never received such a letter from Babington; that she had never sent him such a reply; and that, instead of hastening the execution of Babington, they should have produced him as a witness against her. The lawyers replied, by opposing to that the confessions of Babington, Nau, and Curle, that they believed the copies were faithful transcripts of the originals.* But where were these originals? What could hinder Mary's accusers from producing them? Babington had avowed the charge in the hope of being pardoned; Nau was a timid

* See *Appendix*, No. 11.

man, whom they had likewise frightened by the sight of tortures. "Moreover, Nau," said Mary, "may have written this letter in my name,* but without my knowledge and against my will." Mary demanded to be confronted with them in the presence of Parliament, or before the queen. The presiding officer of the commission, not being able, or desiring not to answer, or obeying secret orders, adjourned the assembly from the 15th to the 25th of October, and from the Castle of Fotheringay to the Star Chamber at Westminster.

On that day the two secretaries appeared; but it was in Mary's absence that the commissioners *unanimously* declared her convicted of having devised and arranged many plots against the queen's person, in contravention to the statute; and although this statute declared Mary and her descendants incapable of succeeding, the commissioners added, that the sentence should in no way derogate from the rights of James, King of Scotland.

This last clause, determined upon in advance, had been inserted to hinder the King of Scotland from taking up arms to save his mother; he had

* Dr. Lingard makes Nau to have previously to this time committed a similar offence.

sufficiently shown how little affection he had for her, and now that his right to the succession was recognized, what mattered it to him whether his mother died or was saved? James only loved money; Mary could then expect no assistance from any one. The King of Spain was occupied in maintaining his ground in Flanders, and the King of France in defending his throne against the league. Elizabeth was the supreme arbiter of her lot; the death warrant was offered for her signature; her indecision could not save Mary, but prolong her cruel agony. What restrained Elizabeth was the stain which the blood of the Queen of Scotland would imprint upon her name.

Meanwhile, Parliament, which had been prorogued from the 15th of October, assembled, and the proceedings at Fotheringay were submitted to it. They were not only found very correct, but the sentence appeared so worthy of the instruction which had preceded it, that both houses united in a petition for it to be carried promptly into execution, (12th of November,) as if the least delay would place the throne and religion in danger. Elizabeth demanded some time for deliberation, but she inquired particularly if no expedient could be resorted to, which would in-

sure her life, without carrying the sentence into execution. She was answered, that no expedient was possible. They did not understand, or did not wish to understand her; she also made the following strange response: "If I should say to you, that I meant not to grant your petition, by my faith, I should say unto you more, perhaps, than I mean. And if I should say that I mean to grant it, I should tell you more than is fit for you to know. *Thus I must deliver to you an answer answerless.*"

Lord Buckhurst was charged with the sad task of announcing to Mary her condemnation; he bade her not to hope for mercy, as her attachment to the Catholic faith rendered her life incompatible with the security of the established religion, and offered her the aid of a bishop or dean of the reformed church* to prepare her for death. The queen replied, that she was ready to shed her blood for her religion; that, moreover,

* In a *critique*, in the Edinburgh Review, upon Hallam's Constitutional History, the writer thus truly describes the founders of this church: "A king, whose character may be best described by saying, that he was despotism itself personified; unprincipled ministers; a rapacious aristocracy; a servile Parliament. Such were the instruments by which England was delivered from the yoke of Rome. The work which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest."

she had no need of the assistance of an ecclesiastic of the reformed religion ; that she only requested that they would not deprive her of the services of her almoner, which request was reluctantly granted, but only for a short time. She employed the time in writing two important letters, one to the sovereign pontiff,* the other to the Archbishop of Glasgow. On the following day, the fanatical Paulet said harshly to her, that being dead according to law, she had no right to the insignia of royalty ; and he believed he was doing a praiseworthy act when he covered himself rudely and sat down in her presence. This act of rudeness was sensibly felt by the unfortunate queen.

On the 19th of December, she addressed her last requests to Elizabeth. They were, that she might be allowed to send to her son a jewel and her blessing ; that her corpse might be conveyed to France, and deposited near that of her mother ; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which she intended to make them ; and that she might be executed in public. In this letter she carefully avoided every expression which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. After having given thanks to Heaven

* See *Appendix*, No. 12.

for giving her strength to support so much injustice, Mary concluded with these words : “ Do not accuse me of presumption, if, on abandoning this world and preparing for a better, I warn you that you will one day have to render an account, as well as those who go before you.” It is said that Elizabeth shed tears, and answered nothing ; but it is more probable that this letter never reached her.

Meanwhile, Henry III., though he sincerely hated the house of Guise, could not see with indifference the head of a princess, who had worn the crown of France, fall beneath the axe of the executioner. He sent an ambassador extraordinary, who was detained by various obstacles, and who obtained no answer. After his departure, the resident ambassador wished to resume negotiations ; but they pretended the discovery of a conspiracy in which he himself was implicated ; his secretary was arrested, and his papers seized. After the death of the queen, apologies were offered ; false information was alleged, and the ambassador and his master were loaded with compliments and praise. Henry III. was, indeed, somewhat feared. The King of Scotland interceded eagerly, and joined menaces to entreaties ; but if he was sincere, he committed the

inexcusable fault of employing the same Gray, whose perfidy had already rendered a former negotiation abortive. In public, Gray solicited earnestly; in private, he urged Elizabeth with all his power to immolate her victim, and intimated that James would not be sorry to be rid of his mother.*

After the publication of the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution; but she was often heard to lament that among the thousands of men who professed attachment for her, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the queen's blood. Once she even said, "Surely Paulet and Drury" — the latter had been lately appointed additional keeper of Mary — "might ease me of this burden. Walsingham and yourself," said

* "Meantime, while the hated object of her guilty purpose was submitting to her hard destiny with the dignity of a queen and the resignation of a martyr, Elizabeth was distracted with gloomy and perplexing thoughts. She gave herself up to solitariness, sat mute, and was frequently heard to sigh deeply, and mutter to herself, *Aut fer, aut feri* — Either bear with her, or strike home; alluding, says Camden, to a certain emblem, *Ne feriari, feri* — Strike, lest thou be stricken. In this temper of her mind there was one at her elbow to prompt dark counsels, which, however, were but little needed. *Mortua non mordet* — The dead bite not — was a well-timed saw, whispered in her ear by the treacherous Master of Gray." — *Walter's Journal of Mary's Captivity*.

she to Davison, her secretary, "must sound their disposition." Elizabeth had already endeavored to excite the imagination and devotedness of Paulet by writing a letter to him, in which she loads him with praise and flattery, styling him *my Amias*, my most faithful servant, and promising him an extraordinary reward, *non omnibus datum*.

In compliance with the queen's wishes, a letter was forwarded to Paulet and Drury, in which they were informed that the queen complained of their lack of zeal, otherwise they would have already terminated the captive's days. Had they not taken the oath of association? What motive should restrain them, now that Mary was tried and condemned? Paulet answered immediately that his goods and life were at the queen's disposal, but that he would not shed another's blood without being authorized by law or warrant. On the 1st of February, Elizabeth forbade Davison taking the executioner's warrant to the chancellor; and when she learned that the seal had been already affixed, she expressed her surprise and her persuasion that the death of the Scottish queen might be better accomplished by some other expedient. The following day she repeated the same language; and when she saw

the answer of Paulet, he was no longer her Amias, her most faithful servant, but *a precise and dainty fellow*, who promised much and performed nothing, who would perjure himself in order to shift the blame from his own shoulders upon hers.

Davison now felt alarmed. From the ambiguous language of the queen, he knew not whether to detain or to forward the warrant; and, to exonerate himself, he delivered it to Lord Burleigh, from whom he had received it originally. That noble assembled a council, (4th of February,) by which it was decided that the queen had done all that could be expected of her, and that it was now the duty of the council to assume the responsibility of the execution. Consequently the secretary of the council was ordered to expedite the warrant. On the 7th, Earl Marshal Shrewsbury was announced to the Queen of Scots; his presence at Fotheringay instantly suggested the fatal object of his visit. The queen immediately rose from her bed, dressed, and seated herself near a small table, after having ranged her servants and women on each side. The earl entered uncovered, followed by the Earl of Kent, the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county.

Mary heard the warrant read without exhibiting any emotion. The reading concluded, she crossed herself, and said the day she had desired had at last arrived; she could not terminate the twenty years of captivity she had undergone in a more glorious manner than by shedding her blood for her religion. She then enumerated the wrongs she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices employed by her enemies; and in conclusion, placing her hand on a Testament which was on the table, she added, "As for the death of the queen, your sovereign, I call God to witness that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it." "That book," said the fanatical Kent, "is a popish Testament, and therefore the oath is null." "It is a Catholic Testament," rejoined the queen; "for that reason I esteem it the more, and for the same reason you should regard my oath as the most sacred I can take." Kent then exhorted her to renounce all papistical superstition, save her soul, and accept the spiritual assistance of the Dean of Peterborough, a learned theologian. Mary requested that they would allow her that of her almoner, which was harshly refused, on the ground that to yield to her request would be to expose the welfare of the souls of the com-

missioners in another world, and their personal safety in this. A desultory conversation followed; afterwards, turning towards Shrewsbury, she inquired when she was to suffer; to which the earl answered, with considerable agitation, "To-morrow morning, at eight o'clock." It is said that when the earl was about to withdraw, Mary inquired what had become of Nau, and on learning that he was still in prison, she exclaimed that Nau was the cause of her death, and that he had brought her to the scaffold to save his own life. She had nevertheless heard her sentence with such calmness and dignity as to strike the beholders with respect and pity.

When the earls had departed, all her attendants burst into groans and sobs; but she imposed silence on them, saying, "This is not the time to weep, but to rejoice. In a few hours all my misfortunes will be over. My enemies may now say what they please; but the Earl of Kent has betrayed the secret, that my religion is the real cause of my death. Be then resigned, and leave me to my devotions." She immediately commenced praying, and after some time was called to supper. She ate sparingly, but before leaving the table, drank the health of her servants, who asked her pardon on their knees for any faults

they had committed in her service. She forgave them cheerfully, asking forgiveness of them in her turn, if she had at any time treated them unkindly. She then gave them some advice for their future conduct, and, it is said, again mentioned her conviction that Nau was the cause of her death.

Mary passed a part of the last night of her life in regulating her domestic affairs, in making her will, and in writing three letters, one to her confessor, one to her cousin of Guise, and the other to the King of France. She then occupied herself with various exercises of devotion, with her two maids of honor, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle. About four in the morning she retired to rest, but was observed not to sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.* At early dawn she

* It was during these solemn moments that tradition says she composed the following rhythmical prayer, the touching pathos and simplicity of which go to every heart:—

O Domine Deus,
Speravi in Te;
O care mi Jesu,
Nunc libera me.
In durâ catenâ,
In miserâ poenâ,
Desidero Te!

O my Lord and my God,
All my hopes are in Thee;
In my need, dearest Jesu,
O succor thou me!
'Midst fetters deep-galling,
'Midst ills deep-inthralling,
My heart yearns for Thee!

summoned her servants, read her will to them, distributed among them her money and clothes, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving the men her hand to kiss. Weeping, they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar; they knelt down and prayed behind her.

About seven o'clock the doors of the great hall of the castle were thrown open. A scaffold had been erected in the middle, which was covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. The gentlemen of the county entered, with their attendants; these and Paulet's guard augmented the number of spectators to about two hundred. A little before eight o'clock a message was sent to the queen, who answered that she would be ready in half an hour. At the expiration of that time, Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory; the queen immediately arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right hand, and carrying her prayer book in her left. Her servants wished to follow her, but were forbidden; they insisted; but the queen

Languendo, gemendo,
Et genuflectendo,
Adoro, imploro,
Ut liberes me!

While in anguish I languish,
Thus kneeling before Thee,
I adore, I implore Thee,
In my need succor me!

bade them desist, and, turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed, and a burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her wardens. At the foot of the staircase she was met by Melville, the steward of her household, who had been excluded from her presence for several weeks. This old and faithful servant cast himself on his knees before her, and, wringing his hands, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, unhappy that I am! was ever man on earth the bearer of such sorrow as I shall be when I report that my good and gracious queen and mistress was beheaded in England?" Here grief impeded his utterance. "Good Melville," said the queen to him, "cease to lament; thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn; for this day shalt thou see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know that this world is but vanity and vexation of spirit. Bear witness, I pray you, that I die a true woman to my religion, firm in my fidelity to Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for brooks of water. O God! thou art the author of truth, and truth

itself. Thou knowest the inner chamber of my thoughts, and that I always wished the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favorable to the pretended superiority of our enemies." Then bursting into tears, she said, "Good Melville, adieu!" and kissing him, "Once again, good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mistress and queen." It was, it is said, the first time in her life that she had been known to address any one by the pronoun *thou*.

After this affecting scene, she made her last request, that her servants might be present at her death. But Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations; might practise some superstitious mummary; perhaps might dip their handkerchiefs in *her grace's* blood.* "My lords," said Mary, "I will give my word for them. They shall deserve no blame. Surely your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I may have some of my women about me at my death." Receiving no answer, she continued: "You might, I think, grant me a far

* The wicked Kent used the expression *her grace*, instead of *her majesty*, to show that he did not consider her a queen.

greater courtesy were I a woman of lesser calling than the Queen of Scots." The two earls still remaining silent, she asked, with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin of your queen, a descendant of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" The fanaticism of the Earl of Kent and the attendant lords could not withstand so commanding an appeal; and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, Melville, and her physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids, Kennedy and Curle.

The melancholy procession now moved forward, headed by the sheriff and his officers; next followed the wardens, Paulet and Drury, and the two earls; lastly came the queen, clad in her richest dress, with Melville bearing her train. Her headdress was of fine lawn, edged with rich lace, with a veil of the same, thrown back and reaching to the ground. She wore a mantle of black printed satin, lined with black taffeta, and faced with sables, with a long train and open sleeves hanging to the ground. The buttons were of jet, in the form of acorns, and set round with pearls; the collar *à l'Italienne*. Her *purpoint* (surcoat) was of black figured satin,

and under it a bodice, unlaced on the back, of crimson satin, with the skirt of crimson velvet. A pomander chain with a cross of gold was suspended from her neck, and a pair of beads from her waist.

Mary entered the hall with a firm and assured step, and did not shrink at the sight of the scaffold, the fatal block, and the executioner. To aid her in mounting the scaffold, Paulet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary; "it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me." She seated herself in the place prepared for her. On her right stood the two earls, on her left the sheriff and Beale, the clerk of the council, in front the executioner from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, and his assistant, also clad in black. The warrant for her execution was then read by Beale, and immediately after Mary addressed the assembly in a firm and audible voice. "Gentlemen," said she, "I would have you remember, that I am a sovereign princess, not subject to the Parliament of England, but brought hither to suffer by injustice and violence. I thank God, however, for giving me this opportunity to make a public profession of my faith. I declare that I die, as I have lived, in the bosom of the

Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church; I declare, besides, that I have never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to, any plot against the life of the Queen of England,* to whom I have never wished any harm. I pardon all those who have pursued me so implacably for twenty years ——”

Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, whom the Earl of Kent considered a great theologian, but who, on this fatal day, showed only a bitter, imperious, and unjust zeal, hastily interrupted the

* It is possible that after twenty years' captivity, as severe as it was unjust, Mary Stuart desired the death of Elizabeth, as likely to restore her to liberty; but the question was not if she had that desire, but if she had really known and favored Babington's project. The negative appears to be the manifest conclusion. The whole testimony against her consists in a copy of a letter pretended to have been written by her; but the simple copy of a non-produced paper is without weight in law. The declaration of Babington, who does not affirm, but who only believes that the copy resembles the original letter, can but create a simple doubt, which is destroyed by the positive denial of Mary. The declaration of the secretary Nau — a declaration which was not refuted, because this man was never confronted with her whom he accused — merits very little confidence, especially when it is considered that during the queen's last moments, Nau tranquilly awaited in Walsingham's residence an opportunity to return to France. Sir Walter Scott, in his *History of Scotland*, although he shows himself on all occasions an enemy to Catholics, says expressly that the proofs alleged against the Queen of Scots were such that the life of the vilest criminal would not have been endangered by them, and, nevertheless, the commissioners had the base cruelty to condemn a queen.

queen to inform her, in a brutal tone, that his mistress, Queen Elizabeth, although compelled to execute justice on her body, was careful of the welfare of her soul; that she had sent him to bring her to the true fold of Christ, out of the communion of which church if she remained, she must be damned; that she might yet find mercy before God, if she would repent of her wickedness, acknowledge the justice of her punishment, and profess her gratitude for the favors she had received from Elizabeth.

Mary repeatedly requested Dr. Fletcher not to trouble himself and her. "O my God!" said she, "why have you permitted this man to occupy these bitter moments! Ah, since you yet reserve this trial for me, at least give me strength to bear it without a murmur." He persisted: she turned aside. Then this madman, making the circuit of the scaffold, again addressed her in front.* Shrewsbury partly concluded this scandalous scene by ordering Fletcher to pray. He obeyed with ill grace, and his prayer was only a continuation of his exhortation.

* Such treatment as this on the part of a dignitary of the church could only have been the effect of instruction from his superiors. There are evidences that he hoped by brutality like this to commend himself at court. He was shortly after made Bishop of London. — *Robertson.*

Mary did not listen, but prayed fervently, and recited in a loud voice, and in the Latin language, long passages from the book of Psalms. When the dean had concluded, she prayed in English for the Catholic Church, for her son, and for Elizabeth, and protested her innocence for the last time, praying Heaven to refuse her mercy if she spoke not the truth. "I pray Thee that my soul may be perpetually deprived of all participation in your mercy and grace, and of the hoped-for and expected fruit of the death and passion of your most dear Son!" On concluding her prayer, she held up the crucifix, and exclaimed, "As thy arms, O my Saviour, were extended on the cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, and pardon all my sins!"

All those present, though Protestants with the exception of Mary's servants, being moved with a holy respect, awaited in mournful silence the close of this terrible drama. The Earl of Kent alone had the heinous courage to insult Mary's religious sentiments by crying out to her to lay aside such popish trumperies. At this moment the two maids of honor, bathed in tears, commenced unrobing their mistress; but the executioners, fearful of losing their usual perquisites, hastily inter-

ferred.* The queen at first remonstrated; but a moment after receiving this humiliation, she submitted to their rudeness, observing to the earls with a smile, that she was not accustomed to undress in the presence of so numerous a company, nor be served by such valets.

At the sight of their sovereign in so forlorn a condition, Mary's attendants could no longer suppress their feelings: but she made them an expressive sign to keep silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. Kennedy then taking a handkerchief, edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes: the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block, on which would close her doom; and the queen, kneeling down, said repeatedly, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." At this moment sobs and groans burst from the spectators, and disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless; and at the third stroke her head was severed from her body. When the executioner held it up, the muscles of the face were so strongly convulsed, that the features of the Queen

* All these articles were claimed by the executioner, but were relinquished by him for a sum of money.

of Scots could be with difficulty recognized. "God save Queen Elizabeth!" cried the executioner, as usual, holding up the bloody head. (8th of February, 1587.)*

"So perish all her enemies!" subjoined Dean Fletcher, who at this moment undoubtedly forgot that he was a minister of a religion of peace, benevolence, and love — of a religion which teaches us to pardon our enemies, that we, in our turn, may obtain pardon for our sins. Fletcher's voice would have found no echo in the hall, had not the savage Kent responded, "So perish all enemies of the gospel!" These demoniac words died away under the arched roof of the hall. Every one retired sadly, wiping away by stealth the tears of which malevolence would have made a crime; it would have been a crime, indeed, to have dared lament and admire the unfortunate, the noble Mary Stuart!

Father Southwell, the celebrated Jesuit and

* The queen's corpse was embalmed the same day in the presence of Paulet and the sheriff, and deposited in a leaden coffin, which was left in the same hall until the 1st of August, when it was interred with pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough. Twenty-five years later it was transferred to Westminster, by order of James, October 11, 1612.

poet, who was a martyr to his faith under Elizabeth, (1595,) has left an Elegy on Mary's death, an extract from which may not be unacceptable to the reader :—

Alive a queen, now dead I am a saint ;
Once Mary called, my name now Martyr is :
From earthly rule debarred by long restraint,
Now do I reign supreme in heavenly bliss.

The scaffold was my couch, where ease I found,
The block a pillow to my sainted rest ;
The headsman cast me in a blissful swoond ;
His axe cut off sad cares from cumbered breast.

Rue not my death —rejoice at my repose ;
It was no death to me, but to my woe :
The bud was opened to let out the rose,
The chain unloos'd to let the captive go.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.*

No. 1.

The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

MOST Reverend Father in God and trusty counsellor: We greet ye well. We have received this morning your letters of the 27th of January, by your servant Robert Drury, containing in one part such advertisement as we find by effect to be ever true, though the success has not altogether been such as the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived in their minds, and would have put in execution, if God in his mercy had not preserved us; and reserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a vigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which ere

* The letters here given are selected from Professor Walter's *Journal of Mary Queen of Scots' Captivity*. They are mostly translated from the French.

it should remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all. The matter is horrible, and so strange, that we believe the like was never heard of in any country. This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours from midnight, the house wherein the king was lodged was, in an instant, blown into the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, and with such vehemency, that of the whole lodging, walls and all, there is nothing remaining, no, not a stone above another, but all either carried far away, or *dung in dross* [reduced to dust] to the very ground stone. It must be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, appears not as yet. We doubt not but according to the diligence our council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be *usit* [made known] shortly; and the same being discovered, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigor as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Whoever have taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourselves it was *dressed* [prepared] as well for us as for the king; for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, and were there accompanied by the most part of the lords

that were in this town. That same night, at midnight, and of very chance, we tarried not all night, by reason of some mask in the abbey; but we believe it was not chance, but God, that put it in our head. We have despatched this bearer upon the sudden, and, therefore, write to you but shortly. The rest of your letter we shall answer at more leisure, within four or five days, by your own servant. And so, for the present, we commit you to Almighty God.

MARIE R.

At EDINBURGH, the 11th day of February, 1567.

No. 2.

Mary to Elizabeth.

MADAM, MY GOOD SISTER: I believe you are not ignorant how long it is since certain of my subjects, whom, from being the least in my kingdom, I raised to be the greatest, have endeavored to involve me in trouble, and have made it apparent what was their aim from the beginning. You know how they proposed to seize me and the late king my husband, from which attempt it pleased God to deliver us, and to permit us to drive them out of the country; where, at your

request, I received them afterwards, though on their return they committed another crime in holding me a prisoner, and killing in my presence a servant of mine, I being at the time far advanced in a state of pregnancy. It again pleased God that I should escape from their hands ; and, as before stated, I not only pardoned them, but received them again into favor. Not contented, however, with so many tokens of kindness, they have, notwithstanding their promises, devised, promoted, subscribed to, and aided in the commission of a crime, for the purpose of falsely charging it upon me, as I hope clearly to make appear to you. Under this pretext, they took arms against me, and accusing me of bad counsel, they pretended a desire to see me delivered from bad company, in order to show me various things that required reformation. Conscious of my innocence, and desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, I committed myself to their hands, being willing to reform whatever was amiss. They immediately seized upon me, and committed me to prison. When I reproached them with a breach of their promise, and required to be informed why they thus treated me, they all kept away from my presence : I then demanded to be heard in council ; this was refused me. In short,

they sought in every way to annoy me; they deprived me of all my servants, except two women, a cook, and a surgeon. They threatened to kill me if I did not sign an abdication of my crown; which the fear of immediate death caused me to do, as I have declared before the whole nobility, upon testimony I hope to show you. After this, they again called me to account, accusing and proceeding against me in Parliament, without condescending to give me any reason for the same, without granting me a hearing, without allowing me an advocate to speak for me, compelling every one to acquiesce in their false usurpation of my power, pillaging me of all I had in the world; never permitting me either to write or speak, that I might not expose their falsehoods and their wicked machinations. At last, it has pleased God to deliver me from them, at the very moment they were meditating to put me to death, in order more firmly to insure their usurpations. In the mean time, I repeatedly offered to answer any thing they had to allege against me, and to assist them in bringing the guilty to punishment. At last, it has pleased God to release me, to the great joy of all my subjects, except Murray, Morton, the Humes, Glencairn, Marr, and Semple, to whom, after the

whole nobility had flocked to me from all quarters, I sent to say, that, notwithstanding their ingratitude and cruelty to me, I willingly invited them to return to their duty, offering them security for their lives and their fortunes, and promising them to call a Parliament for the adjustment of every difficulty. Twice did I send to them. They seized and imprisoned my messengers, and issued proclamations, declaring all who assisted me traitors, and enemies of their country. A second time did I send to them, proposing an accommodation; again they seized my messenger. I sent to demand a safe conduct for my Lord Boyd, whom I commissioned to treat with them, anxious that no blood should be shed on my account. They refused, saying, that, unless all my followers returned to their duty to the regent, and to my son, whom they style king, we should be abandoned to our fate. At this insolence all my nobility were greatly offended, and expressed their attachment to me more warmly than ever. I was, therefore, in hopes, that, in the course of time, and with your power, this faction would gradually be reduced. In the mean time, as they threatened another act of violence against me, swearing that they would effect their purpose, or perish in the attempt, I set forward

to Dumbarton, passing at the distance of two miles from them, my nobility accompanying me in battle array, being interposed between me and the rebels. At this moment an effort was made to cut off my passage, and seize my person. My troops seeing this, and irritated at an advantage sought to be gained by the rebels in point of position, engaged them without order, so that it was the will of Heaven they should be discomfited, and that many should be slain and taken prisoners; some, who were taken, in their retreat, were cruelly put to death. The pursuit was immediately suspended, in order to seize me on the way to Dumbarton, and bodies of troops were despatched in every direction to take me, dead or alive. But God, of his infinite goodness, has preserved me; I escaped to my Lord Herries; who, with other gentlemen, has come with me into your country. We feel assured, that, when you are informed of the cruelty of my enemies, and of the manner in which they have treated me, you will, agreeably to the natural kindness of your disposition, and the faith which I have in you, not only receive me for the security of my life, but aid and assist me in my just cause. For this purpose, I mean also to have recourse to other princes, to interest them in my behalf.

I beg as soon as possible that you will send for me, for I am in a very pitiable condition, not merely for a queen, but for a gentlewoman. I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I escaped, having travelled sixty miles across the country the first day, and not daring to proceed afterwards but in the night time. All the particulars I hope to declare in your presence, if it please you to have pity, as I trust you will, upon my extreme misfortune. I forbear stating more of my grievances at present, in order not to importune you. I pray God to give you health, and a long and happy life; and to me patient resignation, and that solace which I hope to receive from your sympathy and indulgence.

Your most faithful and affectionate good sister
and cousin, and escaped prisoner,

MARIE R.

From WORKINGTON, this 17th day of May, (1568.)

No. 3.

Mary to Elizabeth.

MADAM, MY GOOD SISTER: I thank you for the desire which you have to hear the justifica-

tion of my honor, as it is a subject that concerns all princes, and particularly yourself, to whom I have the honor to be so nearly allied by blood ; but it does appear to me, that they who persuade you that my reception will turn to your dishonor, maintain the very contrary. But, ah, madam, when did you ever hear of a prince blamed for listening in person to the complaints of those who grieve at being falsely accused ? Banish from your mind, madam, the idea that I am come here for the safety of my life ; neither Scotland nor the world have renounced me. I am come to reclaim my honor, and to sue for aid to chastise my false accusers ; not to answer them as their equals, but to accuse them before you, whom I have chosen among all other princes, as my nearest relative and perfect friend ; doing you, as I wish to think, an honor in naming you the restorer of a queen, who was desirous to receive this benefit at your hands, and to be grateful for the same during my whole life, proving my innocence before your very eyes, and convincing you how falsely they have dealt with me. But I see, to my deep regret, that things are interpreted otherwise. As to what you tell me, that you are counselled, by persons of high consideration, to be upon your guard in this

affair, God forbid that I should be the cause of your dishonor; my intention being the very contrary. You will, therefore, be pleased, since my affairs demand such great despatch, to do what other princes would in like case perform; and in order to avoid any blame in that regard, permit me to have recourse to those who will receive me without any fears of this kind. Take any guarantee from me you think fit, that, if hereafter required, — which I think it can never be, — I may surrender myself and my cause into your hands. But now, let me be restored to my state, replaced in my honors, and vindicated in the eyes of the world. Then will I come to lay my cause before you, and to justify my honor, and that from the friendship which I bear you, and not under the humiliating necessity of replying to my false subjects, and that without the credit, as it appears to me, which is given to those who are unworthy of the same. First, extend to me your favor and suitable aid, and then see if I am worthy of the same. Should the reverse prove true, and my demands be found unjust, or to your prejudice or dishonor, it will then be time to discharge yourself of me, and to allow me to seek my fortune elsewhere, without hinderance or molestation. For, being innocent, as thank God, I

know myself to be, do not wrong me by keeping me here in prison, and transferring me, as it were, from one prison to another, encouraging my enemies to persevere in their false and obstinate accusations, and striking terror into my friends, and disinclining them to afford me the aid they had promised. All the good and the honorable are on my side; by any delay I may lose them, or they may be induced to change, and then should I have to begin the whole work anew.

Through my regard for you, I have pardoned those who now seek my ruin, of which I may be compelled before Heaven to accuse you; and fearful I am that these delays of yours may make me lose all. Excuse my frankness; but I owe it to myself to speak to you without reserve. You have received into your presence a bastard brother of mine, who is a fugitive from me and from justice; and you refuse the same favor to me, though I come to you in the justice of my cause, and which I fear is retarded on account of that very justice; it is an old-fashioned way of patching up a bad cause, to stop the mouth of defenders. I know it was the object of John Wood's commission to procure this delay, the surest remedy of an unjust cause, and of their usurped authority. I, therefore, entreat you,

either to aid my cause, and lay me under an external obligation, or to remain neuter, and permit me to do the best for myself elsewhere; for by protracting things, you will do more to ruin me than all my enemies together. If you are in dread of blame, at least, through the confidence I have reposed in you, neither stir for me nor against me. Leave me at full liberty to vindicate my honor; for here I neither can nor will answer their false accusations. My desire is, in a kind and friendly way, to come and justify myself towards you, not in the form of a trial with my subjects, unless their hands were tied. No, madam, there is nothing in common between me and my rebel subjects; and as to treating with them here as my equals, I would rather undergo death itself than submit to such indignity.

And now, laying aside the language of a good sister, let me beg of you, madam, by your honor, to send back my Lord Herries to me without delay, with assurances of that aid and support which he has requested on my part. I have been all this time without any answer from yourself or him, or any assurance thereupon. I have also to request of you, that, as I came freely to render myself into your hands, where I have been so long without any certitude, to command my Lord

Scrope to permit my subjects, to the number of one, two, or three, to have liberty to come and return, that I may not be deprived of all intelligence with my subjects; otherwise, this would be to cut off my defence, and to condemn me unheard. Would to God you could have known in few words what I intended to say; I would not have detained you so long. I do not blame *you* for this conduct towards me; but I hope, in spite of all their specious offers and falsely-colored discourses, you will find me a more advantageous friend to you than they can be. I will enter into particulars only by word of mouth. And so I make an end of my humble recommendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam, my good sister, good health and long life.

Your very good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

From CARLISLE, (June 11th, 1568.)

No. 4.

Mary to Elizabeth.

MADAM: Though the necessity of my cause makes me importunate, yet I trust that, upon

reflection, you will not find me unreasonable. Impartial minds, not moved by the feelings by which you are actuated, would think that I do no other than as my cause requires. Madam, I do not believe that, of yourself, you are devoid of good inclination towards me; but there are those who influence your mind; for I must have taken leave of my senses not to perceive a very poor furtherance of my affairs since my coming hither. I thought I had already said enough to you relative to the inconveniences which delay brings to my cause, and the advantage which it gives to my rebellious subjects, who, I am told, intend holding a Parliament next month. And then the dishonor done, to listen to their request to have commissioners sent to be heard against me, as if I were the meanest subject. What I asked of you, madam, was permission to come to your presence, and make my statement to you relative to the falsehoods they have set forth against me. If I could not clear myself of the same, then you might discharge yourself of my cause. But that my subjects should be allowed to come as my agents and accuse me, of that I cannot allow. If you find it against your honor to admit me to your presence, suffer me at least

to go into France, where I have a dowry for my support.

There are many things that move me to fear, that I shall have to do in this country with others than with you. But inasmuch as nothing followed upon my last complaint, I hold my peace. Happen what may, I had as lief abide my fortune, as to seek it and not find it. Further, it pleased you to give license to my subjects to go and come; this has been refused me by my Lord Scrope and Knollys, as they say by your command, because I would not depart hence to your charge till I had answer to this letter; though I showed them that you required my answer upon the two points contained in your letter. The one is, to let you briefly understand, that I desire to come to you to make my complaint, which being heard, I would declare to you my innocency, and then require your aid. And for lack thereof, I cannot but make my complaint to God, that I am not heard in my just quarrel; and to appeal to other princes to have respect thereto, as my case requires; and to you, madam, first of all, when you shall have examined your conscience, and have him for witness. Again, as to coming further into your

country, and not come to your presence, I must esteem that as no favor, but, on the contrary, take it as a thing forced. In the mean time, I beseech you to return to me my Lord Herries, for I cannot be without him, having none of my council here; and also to suffer me, if it please you, without further delay, to depart hence, whithersoever it be, out of this country. I am sure you will not deny me this simple request, for your honor's sake: the natural goodness of your heart cannot determine otherwise. Seeing that of my own accord I am come hither, let me depart again with yours. And if God permit my cause to prosper, I shall be bound to you for it; and if it happen otherwise, yet I cannot blame you.

As for my Lord Fleming, since upon my credit you have suffered him to go to his home, I warrant you he will pass no farther, but will return when it shall please you. Provided you trust me, I will not, to die for it, deceive you. With respect to Dumbarton, I answer not for that, should my Lord Fleming be in the Tower; for they that are within it will not fail to receive succors, if I do not assure them of yours. No, they would not, though you should impute to

me the consequences ; for my charge to them has been, to have more respect to my servants and my estate than to my life.

Good sister, be of another mind. Win the heart, and all shall be yours and at your command. I thought to have satisfied you wholly, if I might but have seen you. Alas ! do not as the serpent doth that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. Had not Cæsar disdained to hear or redress the complaint of an applicant, he had not died as he did. Why should princes' ears be stopped, seeing they are painted in large ; meaning that they should hear all, and be well advised before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the chameleon, to turn you to my likeness ; and though I were so dangerous and cursed as men say, you are sufficiently armed with constancy and with justice, which I beg of God to give you his grace to use well, with long and happy life.

Your good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

CARLISLE, *this 5th of July, 1568.*

No. 5.

*Mary to Elizabeth.**

MADAM: The late conspiracies in Scotland against my poor child, and my fears for the consequence, grounded on my self-experience, call upon me to employ the remainder of my life and strength, fully to discharge my heart of my just complaints, which I do in the present letter. I trust that as long as you survive me, it may serve as an eternal testimony, and be engraven on your conscience, as well for my acquittance to posterity, as for the shame and confusion of all those, who, under your connivance, have up to this hour so cruelly and unworthily treated me, and reduced me to the extremity in which I

* "Mary's letters," says Robertson of Dalmeny, "are numerous, able, and eloquent. Among them is particularly to be mentioned the letter to Elizabeth on occasion of the captivity of her son, and the machinations against herself and him, abetted by the English queen. No person can read that letter without a certain degree of astonishment. It is difficult to say, whether the pathetic, or the grand, shine most conspicuous. To it the admirers of Mary may refer, as a ground of their panegyric, whether considered in reference to the greatness of mind which it displays, the solemnity that reigns throughout, the piety which it breathes, the chain of arguments which is maintained, the eloquence with which it glows, or the bold and just reproach with which it fearlessly brands the English queen."

am. But as their designs and practices, detestable as they are, have always prevailed against my just remonstrances and honest deportment, and as the power which you have in your hands has always been your justification in the eyes of men, I will have recourse to the living God, our only Judge, who, under him, has established us equally and immediately for the government of his people. I will invoke him, in the extremity of this my pressing affliction, to render to you and to myself (as he will do in the last judgment) the due of our merits and demerits, one towards the other. And remember, madam, that from him we can disguise nothing by the paint and policy of the world; though my enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover from the eyes of men, peradventure from your own, their subtle inventions. In his name, and as it were before him, seated between you and myself, I would remind you, that by means of the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name into Scotland, while I was there, my subjects were corrupted and encouraged to rebel against me, to make attempts against my person; in a word, to speak, undertake, and execute all that led to the troubles which have befallen my country.

During my imprisonment in Lochleven, the late Throgmorton counselled me on your part to sign that abdication, which he told me it was advisable to do, assuring me that it would not be valid. And nowhere in Christendom has it since been held as valid, or maintained as such, except by you, even to the assisting the authors of it by open force. On your conscience, madam, would you have recognized an equal liberty and power in your own subjects? And yet by the same men has my authority been transferred to my son, and that too when he was incapable of exercising it. And when I afterwards sought lawfully to assure him of the same, he being of an age to act for himself, it was suddenly wrested from him, and assigned over to two or three traitors, who, having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him, as they have from me, both the name and title, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

When I had escaped from Lochleven, and was ready to give battle to the rebels, I remitted to you by a gentleman express a diamond ring, which I had formerly received as a token from you, under the assurance of being succored by you against my rebellious subjects; nay, more, that should I seek refuge with you, you would

come to the very frontier to assist me ; and this was confirmed to me by divers messengers.

This promise, coming from your lips, and being repeated by you, (though I had oftentimes found myself abused by your ministers,) made me place such trust in you, that when my army was routed, I came directly to throw myself into your arms, had I been permitted so to do. But while I was deliberating about repairing to you, there was I arrested half way, surrounded by guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity in which I am now languishing, after the thousand deaths which I have already suffered from it. I know that you will allege against me what passed between the late Duke of Norfolk and myself. I maintain that there was nothing therein to your prejudice, nor against the public good of your realm ; and that the treaty was sanctioned by the advice and signatures of the first men then in your council, with the assurance of obtaining your approval. For a long time I have been trying whether patience would soften the rigor and ill treatment which for these ten years past they have made me suffer. I have strictly followed the order prescribed me in my captivity in this house, as well in regard to the

number and quality of the servants retained by me, dismissing the others, as for my diet and ordinary exercise for my health. I am living till the present as quietly and peaceably as one much inferior to myself, submitting, in order to take away every shadow of distrust, to remain without any intelligence of my son and my country, which by no right or reason could be denied me, especially in regard to my child, whom they labored in every way to prejudice against me, in order to weaken us by our disunion.

In conclusion, a more unworthy treatment from day to day, in spite of all my efforts not to deserve it, together with my too long, useless, and pitiful patience, have reduced me so low that my enemies, in their habit of treating me ill, have brought themselves to think that they have the right of proscription for so treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I cannot be, but as some slave, whose life and death depended solely upon their tyranny.

I cannot, madam, submit to it any longer. Either dying, I must discover the authors of my death, or, living, attempt, under your protection, to put an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitorous designs of my enemies, in order to insure me, for the remainder of my days, some-

what more of rest and repose. To take away the pretended occasions of difference between us, inform yourself, if you please, of the truth of all that has been reported to you relative to my conduct; review the depositions of the strangers taken in Ireland; let those of the Jesuits recently executed be represented to you; give liberty to those who would undertake to charge me publicly, and permit me to enter upon my defence. If any evil be found in me, let me suffer, which I shall do with patience when I know the occasion of it; if any good, through the high charge wherewith you are invested before God and man, suffer me not to be worse treated for it. The vilest criminals in your prisons, born under your jurisdiction, are admitted to their justification, and their accusers and their accusations are always declared to them. Why, then, shall not the same order have place towards me, a sovereign queen, your nearest relative and lawful heir? This last relation in which I stand to you has, methinks, been hitherto the principal cause of all the calumnies devised against me by my enemies, to keep us in division, by insinuating between us their own unjust pretensions. But, alas! they have but little reason at present for thus tormenting me;

for I protest to you, upon mine honor, that I look this day for no other kingdom than that of my God, for which I feel that he is disposing me by those best of all preparations — suffering and affliction. There can be little temptation for me to ambition a crown which hitherto has been to me but a crown of thorns.

This, then, will be to you a monition to acquit your conscience towards my child, as to what shall belong to him after your death. In the mean time, do not countenance the continual practices and secret conspiracies which our enemies in this realm are daily devising for the advancement of their pretensions.

And now, madam, with all that freedom of speech which I foresee may in some sort offend you, though it be nought but the truth, you will, I doubt not, find it more strange that I now come to you with a request of far greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant me. It is that, not having been able hitherto, by accommodating myself patiently for so long a time to the rigorous treatment of this captivity, and my carrying myself in all respects, even the least that regard you, to obtain any assurance of your good favor, or give you thereby some earnest of my entire affection towards you; and every hope

being taken away of better treatment for the short time that is still left me to live, I supplicate you, by the bitter passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to allow me to withdraw out of this realm into some place of repose; to seek out some comfort for my poor body, worn out as it is by continual sorrow, and with liberty of conscience to prepare my soul for God, who is daily calling me to himself.

Believe me, madam, or rather believe the physicians whom you sent me this last summer, as they have witnessed that I am not long for this world, so as to give you any foundation for jealousy or distrust of me. And yet you are free to receive from me such assurances, as well as just and reasonable conditions, as you may think necessary. In your hands is the power, and, as the strongest, you may still doom me to a confinement which I little wish to escape. As you have had sufficient experience of my observance of my simple promises, nay, sometimes to my prejudice, as I showed you upon this point two years ago. Recollect, if you please, what I then wrote to you, that nothing can bind my heart to you so strongly as kindness; and yet you continue to keep my poor body languishing between four walls, and that without the pros-

pect of relief; ignorant, it should seem, of the fact that persons of my rank and disposition are incapable of being gained over or forced into compliance by any rigor. This imprisonment of yours, founded on no right or justice, has already destroyed my body, whose end you will shortly see, and which will prevent my enemies from much longer glutting their cruelty upon me; as for my soul, that is my own, free and untrammelled; all your power cannot make that captive. Allow it, then, some breathing place, for aspiring a little more freely after its salvation, which is all it now seeks, indifferent to all the pomps and vanities of the world. It cannot, methinks, be any great satisfaction, honor, or advantage to you, to see my enemies trample me under their feet, and humble me in the dust under your very eyes; whereas, if in this extremity, however late it may be, you release me from their grasp, you would bind me and all who belong to me in the strong bonds of affection, and more particularly my poor child, whom by such a measure you may, perchance, assure to yourself forever. I shall not cease to importune you with this request till it be granted me; and on this I pray you to let me know your intention, having now waited your pleasure for more

than two years, to renew my entreaties for it, which I am compelled to do by the state of my health, which is worse than you, perhaps, have been led to imagine. In the mean time, provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment, that I may no longer suffer as I have done. Remit me not to the discretion of any other whatever, but do you yourself, to whom alone (as I wrote to you lately) I wish henceforward to stand indebted for all the good or all the evil that I am to receive in your country. Do me this favor, to let me have your determination in writing, or the French ambassador for me. As to abiding by what the Earl of Shrewsbury or others may say or write to you, I have had too much experience to place any reliance on them; their slightest notion or fancy being sufficient to change to-morrow what may be done to-day.

Besides this, in reply to what I lately wrote to those of your council, you have given me to understand that I should not address myself to them, but to you alone. It is surely not reasonable that these men should ill-treat me merely and solely to extend their credit and authority, as they have lately done by these new restrictions, and whereby, contrary, I doubt not, to your intentions, I have been most unworthily

treated. This gives me occasion to suspect that some of my enemies in your council have expressly contrived that the rest should remain ignorant of my just complaints, fearing, perhaps, that their compeers would not lend themselves to the wicked attempt against my life, or that, if they had knowledge of the same, they would oppose it for your honor, and through a sense of duty towards you. In a word, two things I have formally to require: the one, that, approaching as I am the term of my mortal career, I may have near me for my consolation some honorable churchman, to remind me daily of the course I have to finish, that I may order my life according to my faith, in which I am firmly resolved to live and die. This is a last duty, not denied to the lowest and most wretched of mortals. The liberty of freely exercising their religion is what you grant to all foreign ambassadors, as Catholic kings do in return to yours. As for myself, I never forced my own subjects to any thing contrary to their religion, though I had full power and authority over them; and that I, in this my extremity, should be deprived of such freedom is a thing that you cannot in justice require. And what advantage will redound to you if you refuse me this request? I trust that

God will excuse me, if, being in this manner oppressed by you, I cease not to render him such dutiful homage as in my heart I am permitted to do. Besides this, you are setting a very bad example to the other princes of Christendom, teaching them to employ the same rigor towards their subjects that you show towards a sovereign queen and your nearest relative, and which I am and shall never cease to be, in despite of my enemies.

I have no wish now to importune you on the augmentation of my establishment, with which, for the short time of life that remains to me, I can well dispense. All that I ask of you, then, is two waiting women, to attend me during my sickness, declaring before God that they are very necessary for me, and that it is no more than might be asked by a poor creature among the common people. In the name of God, grant me this request, and thereby show that my enemies have not so much credit with you against me as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty in a point of so little moment, and connected with a simple office of humanity.

Resume, madam, the ancient pledges of your good nature; be again in heart and disposition what you were before; bind your relations to

yourself, and grant me the satisfaction, ere I die, to see every thing amicably adjusted between us, so that my soul, when delivered from this body, may not be compelled to pour forthwith lamentations before God for the wrongs you will have suffered to be done me here below; but rather, that, being in unison and peace with you, it may quit this captivity, to set forwards towards Him whom I pray to inspire you with a sense of my just and reasonable complaints.

Your very disconsolate nearest relation and affectionate cousin, MARIE R.

At SHEFFIELD, this 28th of November, (1582.)

No. 6.

*Mary to Elizabeth.**

April 30, 1584.

* * * The countess told me, as nearly as I can recollect, in the following words: That you were as vain, and had as lofty an opinion of your beauty, as if you had been some heaven-

* This celebrated letter was written by Mary to Elizabeth, in compliance with a request from the latter to give a faithful statement of whatever Lady Shrewsbury had said in her hearing to the prejudice of her character. That part of it is given in which Lady S. is supposed to describe Elizabeth's excessive vanity.

born goddess. That you took so much delight in unmeasured flattery, as to be led to avow that there were people who durst not look you straight in the face, as it shone like the sun. That she and the other ladies of the court found it necessary to administer flattery to you in the most extravagant doses. That at the last visit which she and the late Countess of Lennox paid you, in repeating the dose they durst not look at one another, lest they should burst with laughter at the falsehoods they told you; and on her return she begged of me to scold her daughter, to keep her from again committing herself; that as to her daughter Talbot, she durst not go to you with her, as she could never keep from laughing outright in your face. The same Lady Talbot, when she went to give her attendance upon you, and took the oath as one of your maids of honor, returned here again as soon as she could, begging that I would allow her to transfer her services to myself. At first I refused, but at last, moved by her tears, I consented. She then told me that for no consideration in the world would she remain in your service, or be about your person, as she was afraid that, when you were angry, you would treat her as you had done her cousin Skedmar, whose finger

you broke, and then made the court believe that a candlestick had fallen down upon it; and that to another servant you had given a furious stroke of a knife upon the hand. In a word, as to these last points, and stories of the same kind, that you were made a fool of, and mimicked by them, as in a comedy. They said that my women, upon hearing these farces, would enact them over together; upon perceiving which, I swear to you that I forbade my women from joining any more with them.

No. 7.

Mary to Elizabeth.

MADAM: Upon occasion of a very unfortunate and lamentable occurrence, which took place the day before yesterday in this house, within ten paces of my chamber, and almost in full view of my windows, namely, the violent death of a poor young man, a Catholic, as it is said, imprisoned here so near me these three weeks, and solely on account of his religion, as the violence publicly exercised against him demonstrates, it is necessary for me to represent to you how much I consider this event as import-

ing me to take heed to my safety, with respect to any person who may be appointed to be my guard here. Madam, whether this man were reduced to the extremity of making away with himself, as some say, whether his days were shortened by violence, or whether he was the victim of bad treatment, I have seen him at different times dragged by force across the court of this castle, to go against his conscience to the place of their worship—a thing which might have been done elsewhere, at least, than in my presence, and in this house, which you have not, I suppose, destined to be a common jail, if there be any respect for me who profess the same religion. If such violence has been used against a poor simple man purely on the score of his religion, without allegation, as far as I can learn, of any crime, his life or death being a thing of no profit or interest to any one whatever, I leave you to judge, then, what I may expect from such zealots of puritanism—I, in whose death they have placed the whole gain of their cause, and the surest road to come at the usurpation of my crown. But I pray you not to think that I attribute this to Sir Ralph Sadler, as, in my conscience, I judge him to be an honorable gentleman, and so upright before God and you, that

I am not afraid of his knowingly committing any wicked action.

For these puritans to say they have no eye to future hopes, is a mere fable, under which they conceal the corruptness — the purity, as they call it — of their intentions ; which is, to make the monarchy elective for the time to come, by means of the present destruction of your blood, and of the legal succession in me. I verily think I should not have been this day alive, had you been inclined to believe one of them, one, too, who holds a high office near you, [Burghley,] whom the Countess of Shrewsbury once told me you had reproached, because, if you had followed his counsel, you would have stained your hands with my blood. Calling to mind, therefore, the practices tending to the same effect, as revealed to me by that countess, and those which were set on foot against me in this last Parliament, thwarted by none but yourself, and also the secret conspiracy of the Association, made to effect a general massacre both of me and of those of my religion, which is the principal object of this faction, — without giving themselves any trouble about the inconveniences and dangers into which they might precipitate you, — I supplicate you most earnestly, madam, to grant me, on any

condition whatever without prejudice to my conscience, a deliverance out of this long and miserable captivity. In place of being sincerely and faithfully dealt with here, endeavoring as I have done to accommodate myself to your intentions, all I hear of are new retrenchments, orders, and restrictions. These things would annoy me the more, were it not for the entire confidence I have placed in your natural good disposition, your promises, and the hope that I have of seeing them carried into effect.

I should, therefore, be glad to know whether this rude treatment and these restrictions proceed from your command. I defy my enemies to allege any thing on my part to deserve them. But I see but too clearly, that so long as I remain in this country, however strict a guard you may set upon me, whatever sincerity I may practise with you, however I make it a duty to let you see clearly into all my actions and behavior towards you,—in short, if, as the saying is, I were to divide myself into four quarters to please you,—my enemies would never permit you to be in peace with me, nor to receive peace from you. To me will they impute whatever is to your discontent, not only here, but in all Christendom; and when a pretext fails them, they will not fail

to invent one, to keep you in perpetual disgust of me, and myself in continual turmoil and apprehension. For instance, they say that Parry disguised his wicked design as being done in my cause. How can I better acquit myself of this, and of all such practices, than by publicly declaring that all such persons are my mortal enemies? If the advantageous offers I have made you for my deliverance were, as you were pleased to acknowledge, such that nothing more could be desired, do me the honor to let me know what more you desire now, be it even the deprivation of all right to the succession to the crown, if you think that this may be conducive to your safety.

For God's sake take care, that, step by step, you do not permit this puritan faction to grow to such a head in number, force, and usurpation, that, if you do not provide in time, you may find it no longer in your power to secure to me either my right or my life. Without doubt, they will at last give you the law themselves. Recollect that in the book formerly read to me by the Countess of Shrewsbury, they boldly affirm that it is not in your power to name any Catholic your heir. It will be for them, then, to elect an heir by force, in any manner they presume; and what is this but to compel me, at last, in spite

of myself, to submit to their mercy both my life and my right after you in the succession to the crown? I have informed you that I was content to yield to you; but, happen what may, I never will do the same to any subject of yours. Therefore, madam, take heed, if you please, to whom you commit me, while I await your resolution as to my deliverance. Your own safety is at stake. When they have me in their hands, and at their disposal, one great obstacle is removed out of the way.

I have no doubt your intention towards me is sincere; I have no distrust of your word. But when, contrary to your intention, and without your knowledge, my life shall be taken from me, who will be able to repair the loss? To go farther: who is there among them that would think he had done any thing unjust or unworthy of himself, as you stated in your last, in executing what he has promised and sworn in the Association, namely, to ruin by all means all those in whose favor any thing should be attempted against your person? The examination of Parry, who, it is said, was once their spy, will be of service to them in this respect. Consider to what issue these things indirectly tend; it is a secret, oligarchical plot, masked under the spe-

cious title of an Association for your preservation. I never approved of this plot; on the contrary, I always cried out against it, being bound, as I repeat it, to study your preservation, which is no less dear to me than to any subject you have.

And here, permit me to say freely to you, and that in declaration of the perfect interest I take in your safety, that it is very dangerous for you to suffer your subjects to be so persecuted and harassed against their conscience, solely on the score of religion. The despair that may thence arise in the breasts of many, in perceiving before your eyes irretrievable ruin, may produce fatal and incalculable effects, as in the case of the poor man here, if it be true that he made away with himself. My secretary has told me, that he has heard from your own mouth, that it never was your intention that any of your subjects should suffer solely for religion and conscience' sake. So long as this was observed in the first years of your reign, you had great tranquillity, no person being charged with crimes against you. For God's sake, madam, keep that holy resolution, worthy of you, and of all those of your rank. The example of our age throughout all Christendom has given you sufficient proofs how little

human force can do in the matter of religion, whose spirit is from above. For my part, should it come to pass that an open attack were made upon my religion, I am, by the grace of God, perfectly ready to lay down my neck under the axe, and shed my blood before all Christendom; and I should esteem it a great happiness to be among the foremost. I do not say this through vain-glory, as if I were at any great distance from danger.

Once more, then, madam, I beseech you to put an end to my sufferings, and to deliver me, in the manner it shall please you, from this miserable prison; which I may now, more justly than ever, call a prison, and worse, seeing such deeds committed here. Let me languish here no longer merely to prolong the persecution against me, solely for having the honor to be one of your nearest relatives by blood. It would be a very great cruelty to make me undergo so many evils because I have preserved that honor unblemished from my birth. I wait your answer and final resolution, nothing now remaining but my life to offer you, after all other conditions proposed to obtain my deliverance. Humbly kissing your hands, I pray God that he may

have you, madam, my good sister, in his holy keeping.

Your very humble and very affectionate
Sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

From TUTBURY, (April 8th, 1585.)

No. 8.

Mary to Mauvissiere.

May 23, 1585.

BELIEVE me, M. Mauvissiere, my enemies endeavor in every possible manner to derive advantage from the divisions which they sow every where, in the same manner as I remember they formerly spread a report that the queen mother (Catharine de Medicis) hated me extremely, on account of my bad conduct and disobedience to her while I was in France; and yet she lately gave very good testimony in my favor at audiences which Lord Glasgow and Lord Seton had with her. And I truly believe that none of her own daughters ever showed her more honor, deference, and obedience in all things. Do me the favor to thank her, on my part, for the assurances which she gave those

ambassadors of her entire attachment to me and my son; and that I will, as long as I live, do my utmost to deserve it. Entreat her most earnestly to take care of my poor child, and of my wretched state.

As to my liberty, I wish to enjoy it out of England; or, if I consented to remain here, that it should be more ample and favorable than was proposed last year, when, in order to deliver my son from the hands of the rebels, I was obliged to offer my person as security. With respect to your journey to Scotland, I have, according to your advice, appeared rather to doubt of it than to desire it, in order that they may more readily agree to it; but then I have urged that you might be permitted to visit me by the way, as this is one of the principal parts of your commission; and by this means could you not bring Archibald Douglas with you? You will make arrangements with him respecting all that he has written to me, and what you have written in his favor. Meantime, do you and he be on your guard against Walsingham; for, notwithstanding all the fine speeches which he makes to you, I know that he will not spare me, nor any of my friends, if he can find any thing against me. On the condition that my son is safe, I will willingly

suffer the worst that they can do to me here, both in changing my keeper and restricting my liberty. My resolution, therefore, is to labor by all means for the liberty and safety of myself and son, and to bring about a good understanding with the Queen of England. With a view to this object, we must direct all our plans and actions to the satisfaction of Elizabeth, in order that we may obtain, under her protection, the confirmation of our right of succession to the crown. However, till I see the treaty before me, I will not suffer myself to be deceived by idle hopes, or exalt those rebels over the head of my son, and throw him by their means at the feet of the queen. In a word, I will have something in my left hand before I throw away what I have in the right. And now, as the lord treasurer has received from me an answer such as he desires, (that is to say, resolute, sincere, and unequivocal,) it is now his business, and that of the other counsellors, to show the sincerity of themselves and of their queen towards me, who remain in their hands as pledge and security for my offers and promises, for which I can receive no equivalent from them; and yet I want something more than fair speeches. Nau shall be ready to accompany you to Scotland. * * *

No. 9.

*Mary to Mauvissiere.**July 10th, 1585.*

SIR: I am happy to inform you that my health is pretty good, notwithstanding the arbitrary manner and increase of rigor with which I am treated by this warden of mine. I find myself in very great perplexity in regard to my abode in this house, if it be intended that I should pass the next winter. The timber work of the house, as I before told you, is in a wretched condition. The wind enters my chamber on all sides, so that I do not know how it will be in my power to preserve the little health I have regained during the rigors of the coming season. My physician, who is in a good deal of concern on this point, expressly says, that he will give up all hope of curing me if I am not provided with a better lodging. While he watched me, during my last indisposition, he found my chamber exceedingly cold during the night time, notwithstanding the stoves and continual fire there, and the warmth of the season of the year. If such be the case now, I leave you to judge how it will be in the middle of winter; this house

being situated upon a hill in the middle of a plain about two miles in circumference, exposed to all the winds and inclemency of the season. There are a hundred peasants in the very village at the foot of the castle better lodged than I am ; my whole accommodation consisting of two small, wretched rooms, and some closets not fit for any thing (if I must say it) but water closets. I have no place for recreation, no covered walk to take the air in the daytime ; in a word, of all the lodgings I have had in England, this is the most unhealthy and inconvenient. I am willing to believe that the queen, my good sister, will not think me troublesome in making these remonstrances, to which pure necessity compels me. For six months past, no care has been taken to remedy these inconveniences, and yet I have remained silent and patient ; in testimony of which I refer to my warden. I thank you affectionately for the duty you have shown in consoling me upon the delay of the treaty for my liberty. I doubt not you have informed me of the true reasons alleged for it ; they are the very counterpart of the excuses in times past — at one time a revolution in Scotland, at another some new trouble in France, and then again the discovery of some conspiracy at home ; in a

word, the smallest incident that can come to pass in Christendom is converted into cause sufficient. The whole thing amounts to this, — as the children say, — they will be content when every body else is agreed.

No. 10.

Mary to Mauvissiere.

September 23, 1585.

FORESEEING that it will be too late before I receive your answer to my last communication, I will, without waiting for it, lay my just complaint before you, that Sir Amias Paulet, in reply to my memorial respecting my lodging, attendants, &c., has delivered to me an answer which is, in fact, a plain refusal. Although these things appear to my good sister the Queen of England but trifling, and of no moment, they are, nevertheless, of great importance as regards the preservation of my life and health, and of all whom I have left to console me within the walls of my prison. I see, however, daily, that they desire to reduce me to the utmost extremity; for if my necessities were not so urgent, I would not trouble her with so many petitions, remonstrances, and entreaties, which to me appears paying a

very high price for them. It is also most painful to me, that, in return for the duty which I have voluntarily imposed upon myself to submit to the queen's pleasure in all things, so little regard is paid to her honor and my comfort by my present mode of treatment.

In order that you may be fully acquainted with all the particulars, in order to represent them in my name to the queen, who, I believe, has never been properly informed of them, I shall observe, first, in regard to my lodging, that my residence is a place enclosed with walls, situated on an eminence, and consequently exposed to all the winds and storms of heaven. Within this enclosure there is, like as at Vincennes, a very old hunting seat, built of wood and plaster, with chinks on all sides, with the uprights, the chinks between which are not properly filled up, and the plaster dilapidated in numberless places. The house is about six yards distant from the walls, and so low that the terrace on the other side is as high as the house itself, so that neither the sun nor the fresh air can penetrate it on that side. The damp, however, is so great there, that every article of furniture is covered with mouldiness in the space of four days. You may judge for yourself how this must affect my health. In

a word, the rooms for the most part are fit rather for a dungeon for the lowest and most abject criminal, than for a residence of a person of my rank, or even of a much inferior one. No gentleman in this country, yea, no inferior, I am convinced, would wish to accommodate me worse than themselves; he would consider it as a punishment and tyranny if he were shut up a twelve-month in such a habitation, so confined and uncomfortable as that in which I am constrained to dwell. I have for my own accommodation only wretched little rooms, and so cold, that were it not for the protection of the curtains and tapestries which I have had put up, I could not endure it by day, and still less at night. In fact, there is scarcely one of those who have nursed me during my illness, who has escaped without some sickness, fluxion, or cold. Sir Amias Paulet will bear witness, that during this time three of my women were laid up at once. Nay, my physician himself, who has also come in for a share, has several times declared, that if I remained in this house he could not undertake the charge of my health during the ensuing winter. For even if they were to furbish it up, or repair and enlarge it, I should never be able to live

here, as there is nothing on earth that I can stand less than the least damp air.

With respect to the house which it is proposed I should inhabit during the said alterations, it adjoins that which I have described, and even, according to Sir Amias Paulet's statement, will not accommodate my people. I have, however, several reasons to fear inhabiting such a lone dwelling, but will say nothing respecting it here.

In regard to other conveniences, I much want an additional room, into which I can sometimes retire, as I have no place where I can be alone, except two little dark holes which are towards the wall, and the largest is scarcely three yards square. If I desire to go out either on foot or in my chair to get a little fresh air, there being no open space on the top of the hill, I have scarcely a quarter of an acre left me, in the neighborhood of the stables, which Mr. Somer has had ploughed during the last winter, and encompassed with a wooden fence, and which deserves the name of pigsty rather than of a garden. There is scarcely a sheepfold in any field which is not more agreeable.

With regard to horse exercise, the roads are so bad, as I experienced last winter, from the effects of snow and rain, that one cannot go even

a mile in a carriage, and I am at last obliged to have recourse to my feet.

I must also acquaint you (though I am ashamed to do so) that this house is so filled with the lowest people, that, notwithstanding every effort, it is impossible long to maintain order; and as there are no sewers, I am exposed to a constant stench, and when they are emptied every Saturday, "*Je ne recoy pas les plus plaisantes cassolettes.*"

I must add one thing in conclusion, and to which respect is paid even to persons in an inferior station, especially during illness: this place was my first prison in this realm, and I suffered here so much rigor, insult, and indignity, that I have ever since looked on it as wretched and unfortunate, and wrote to the Queen of England before I came here. In this gloomy notion I have been confirmed by the circumstance that the priest, after he had been cruelly tortured, was hanged on the wall opposite my windows, as I have already written to M. Mauvissiere; and about four or five days ago, another poor man was found drowned in the well, though I will not compare this with the other.

I have lost my good Rally — she was my best comfort in my misfortune; another of my un-

happy people has died since, and several still suffer much from sickness.

Being destitute of all conveniences and comforts here, nothing but Elizabeth's promise that I should be well treated has hitherto sustained my patience ; otherwise, I should never have set my foot into it, unless I had been dragged hither by force, as force alone shall induce me to remain here. Should I die, I ascribe my death to this residence, and to those who keep me here, in order, as it seems, to make me doubt the good will of the queen, my sister ; for what may I expect in important matters, if I am treated so in trifling and unimportant ones, and faith is not kept with me even in them ?

No. 11.

Mary to the Duke of Guise.

October 5, 1586.

MY GOOD COUSIN : If God, and you after him, do not find means to succor your poor cousin now, all is over. This bearer will tell you how I am treated by all, even by my two secretaries. For God's sake assist them, and save them if you can. They are to accuse me of a design to

trouble the state, and of having laid plots against the queen, or, at least, of having consented to them. I have declared what is true, that I know not what the matter in hand is. They say they have seized certain letters of mine to one Babington, and to Charles Paget and his brother, which prove this conspiracy ; and that Nau and Curle have acknowledged to it. I declare they can do no such thing ; except they force them by the torture to declare more than they know. This is all they have told me about the matter. But I know by means of letters, that they threaten you much, you and your league, and are strengthening their party by means of certain princes, who will tolerate their religion. I have declared to them, that, as to myself, I am resolved to die in mine, as she [Elizabeth] protested she would do for the Protestant. Whatever, therefore, you may hear, my good cousin, by these disseminators of false reports, assure yourself, that, by the grace of God, I will die in the Catholic faith, and in firmly maintaining its cause. The House of Lorraine know what it is to pour forth their blood for the faith, and I will not dishonor that house. Cause prayers to be offered for me to Almighty God ; have my poor remains,

when brought from hence, interred in holy ground, and have compassion on my poor, destitute servants ; for they have robbed me of every thing here, and I lay my account to be despatched with poison, or some other such secret death. But although I am become nearly maimed by their bad treatment, my right hand, since this late event, having so swollen and become so painful, that I can scarcely hold the pen or assist myself to my food, yet my courage shall not fail me ; in the hope that He who has made me what I am will give me grace to die in his cause. This is the only honor I desire in this world, in order to obtain the mercy of God in another. It is my desire that my body may be buried at Rheims, by the side of my late good mother, and my heart beside the late king, my lord. Further particulars you may hear from the bearer of this. Should it appear that, at the present time, there is any wish to see me restored, and to avenge my cause, — which indeed is the common cause, — I should think it very wonderful ; for to me every thing on this point seems doubtful and wavering. Adieu, my good cousin ; communicate the contents of this to my ambassador. If my son does not concur now in avenging

his mother, then I give him wholly up ; and I beg that you and all my relations will do the same.

Your good cousin,

MARIE R.

From FOTHERINGAY.

No. 12.

Mary to Pope Sixtus V.

November 23, 1586.

MOST HOLY FATHER: I humbly approach your holiness, to ask your benediction, and to beg leave to state what has befallen me. The very day on which the present, I have been ordered by persons sent from the Queen of England to prepare for death. If I am allowed to see my almoner, or any Catholic priest, it is my intention to comply with the proper forms as established in the holy church. I have, however, reason to fear that this will be refused me ; therefore, lowly at your feet, most holy father, do I confess myself a sinner in the sight of God, and through your prayers implore his mercy and compassion upon my soul ; between which and the justice of God I interpose the blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for me and for all sinners, of whom I confess myself to be the most unworthy, consid-

ering the graces I have received, and which I have so ill employed and so ineffectually corresponded to. This would render me unworthy of pardon, were not his saving grace promised to all who feel the weight of sin, and groan in anguish of spirit; and did not his mercy encourage us to approach him, in that tender invitation, "Come to me, all you that labor and are heavily laden, and you shall find rest to your souls." Then, like another prodigal son, do I hasten to be received into his paternal embrace, to be pardoned for the offences of the past, and to be freed from the burden of sin. And here also do I fulfil what I most earnestly desire; and that is, to offer willingly at the foot of the cross my life and my blood for the maintenance of the Catholic church of God, and in proof of the sincere love which I bear the same, and without the restoration of which I should no longer desire to live.*

* "She proceeds," says Dr. Lingard, "to recommend to the pontiff the conversion of her son to the Catholic faith, for which purpose she wishes him to employ the coöperation of the King of Spain, the only prince who has really aided her during her captivity. If James should continue obstinate, she leaves all her right in the crown of England to the disposal of the pope and of that monarch. Should he repent, she requires of him to look on Philip and the princes of the house of Guise as his nearest relatives, and hopes, as

No. 13.

Mary to Le Preau, her Almoner.

February 7, 1587.

THEY have been battling with me to-day on my religion, persisting on my receiving consolation from their heretical teachers. You will learn from Bourgoïn and the others that, at least, I have faithfully made protestation of my faith, in which I wish to die. I requested to have you with me, to make my confession and receive my sacrament, which was cruelly refused me, as well as my request to have my body transported into France, and free power to make my will, or to write any thing but by their hands, and under the good pleasure of their mistress.

the last blessing she can wish for on earth, that he may marry the infanta of Spain." I have called the reader's attention to this letter for the following reason: For many years after the death of Mary, it was believed that, on the eve of her execution, she made a will, by which she left the kingdom of England to Philip of Spain, in case her son did not become a Catholic; and that Cardinal Laurea and Lewis Owen, Bishop of Cassano, had attested that it was in the handwriting of the queen. This will, however, could never be discovered. In my opinion there can be little doubt that the report arose from misconception, and that the real will was this letter; and what confirms this conjecture is, that at the end of it there is subjoined an attestation of Lewis Owen, Bishop of Cassano, that the handwriting is that of Mary, Queen of Scots.

In defect of this, I now confess the grievousness of my sins in general, as I had intended to do to you in particular; beseeching you, in the name of God, to watch and pray this night with me, for the satisfaction of my sins, and to send me your absolution and pardon of all my offences towards yourself. I will endeavor to see you in their presence, as they have granted me to do in regard to my chamberlain; and if that be permitted me, I will, upon my knees, in presence of all, ask your blessing. Point out to me the most proper prayers for this night and for to-morrow morning. The time is short, and I have no leisure to write; but I will recommend you with the rest, and, above all, your benefices shall be assured to you, and I will recommend you to the king. I have time for no more. Advise me, in writing, of whatever you shall think conducive to my salvation.

I will send you some little parting token of my remembrance.*

* At the foot of the letter is the word REMEMBER, which, by a singular coincidence, was the parting word addressed by Mary's grandson, Charles I., to his almoner, Bishop Juxton, by whom he was attended on the scaffold.

No. 14.

*Mary to the Duke of Guise.**February 7, 1587.*

MY GOOD COUSIN: As you are among the dearest to me in the world, I write to bid you my last adieu. By the unjust judgment of my enemies, I am upon the point of suffering death as none of our race ever before suffered, and least of all one in my station. Yet, my good cousin, render thanks to God for the same. Situated as I was, I was useless to the world in the cause of God and his church. But I hope that my death will testify my constancy in the faith, and my readiness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic church in this unfortunate island. Though heretofore executioner has never dipped hand in our blood, yet let not your cheek redden at the thought, my good friend; for this judgment of heretics and of the enemies of the church — men who have no jurisdiction over me, a free queen — will prove acceptable in the sight of God, and profitable to the children of his church. Were I one of them, one of the children of delusion, I should not suffer this blow. All of our house have been

objects of persecution to this sect, as witness your good father, with whom I hope to be received into the mercies of the just Judge. I recommend to you the care of my poor attendants, and the discharge of any debts that I may leave behind me. I also beg you to cause masses to be said for the repose of my soul, and to make provision for an annual dirge for the same object; the means for this purpose, as well as my last wishes in this regard, will be conveyed to you by these my poor helpless attendants, the eye witnesses of this my last tragedy. May God prosper you, your wife, children, brothers, and cousins, and especially our head, my good brother and cousin, and all his; the blessing of God and that which I should give to my child be on you and yours, whom I recommend to God, no less than my own unfortunate and ill-advised child. You will also receive from my people certain tokens from me, in order to remind you to cause prayers to be said for the soul of your poor cousin, destitute as she is of all aid and counsel but that of God, who is graciously pleased to give me strength and courage singly to resist the wolves that are howling around me; glory be to his name! Mark one thing; give credence to what will be told you by the person

who gives you a ruby ring from me; I can answer for it on my conscience that you will be told the truth of what I have directed, especially as to what concerns my poor attendants, and the share which is to come to each. I recommend to you this person for her simple sincerity and honesty, that she may be placed in some good situation. I have chosen her as the least partial, and who will report my orders most simply and sincerely. But do not let it be known that I had given her any thing to reveal to you in private; I should be sorry to raise any jealousy among the poor things. I have suffered much for these last two years, and more, far more than I have let you know, and that for the best of reasons. But God be praised for all! It is my parting prayer that he would give you his grace to persevere in the love and service of his church as long as you live; and never may this glory depart from our race, that all, men as well as women, may be ready to shed their blood to maintain the cause of our faith, all worldly considerations set aside. As for myself, I hold myself born, both on the paternal and maternal side, so to offer my blood; from this I never have had, nor have at this moment, the slightest intention to degenerate. May Jesus, who was

crucified for us, render us worthy of the voluntary offering of our bodies to his glory, and to this also may the intercession of all the holy saints and martyrs avail.

From your affectionate cousin and perfect friend,
MARIE R.

P. S. In order to degrade me, they had caused my canopy of state to be pulled down. I caused to be put up in place of my coat of arms the figure of the crucifixion of my blessed Saviour, and pointed it out to their notice. They were more kind after that. But of this and many other things you will be duly informed. Once more, farewell!

No. 15.

*Mary to the King of France.**

THANKS be to God, he has given me courage to meet death without fear; and with perfect truth I protest that I meet it innocent of crime. Even had I been an English subject, I should have been justified in my attempts to regain that liberty which was withheld from me by

* This letter, of which the conclusion only is here given, is dated "Wednesday, two hours after midnight."

injustice. I die for the Catholic religion, and for maintaining the right given me by Heaven to inherit the crown of England; these are the true grounds of my condemnation. This bearer and his companions will bear witness to you as to my deportment in this my last scene. It remains that I beg of you, as the Most Christian king, my brother-in-law, and who have always done me so much honor as to declare that you love me, now to give me a proof of it, by recompensing my afflicted servants, and by causing prayers and the holy sacrifice of the altar to be offered up for a queen who likewise bore the title of Most Christian, and who now dies in the profession of the one true Catholic faith.

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